

## CAST

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Look like just any ordinary scrubby face that abounds in Ann Arbor? But there's something different about this man. He's got a little badge that says he's a member of the Ann Arbor Police Department. He was spotted at the 'Dionysus' bust wearing a CPO shirt, boots, beads and a "Dionysus in '69" button. When photographed, he smiled and said, "so you broke my cover, eh?" All of which could just be a normal chain of events, except when considering the superstrict dress and hair regulations of the Ann Arbor Police Department. His facial growth is just starting to expand—watch for him when it proliferates more.

The response to the first Argus was very encouraging, and we're going to be trying to get it together more and more now. One thing is definite—we're here to stay. This has just recently been confirmed by the late-night interest Ann Arbor supercop Eugene Staudenmeier has been taking in us, but that's another story. But let us know what you think—call or write letters to the editor, and just let us know. Or stop your local neighborhood newsboy, and tell him.

Speaking of that, there are various spots around this issue advertising the fact that anyone who wants to make bread can sell Argus for fun and profit. Call 769-6374 and we'll talk about it.

Also very encouraging was the development that we can soon move out of our very cramped quarters into a permanent office, beneath the ALTERNATIVE coffeehouse, wherever it's finally located. Hopefully soon.

In our first issue topo-grammatical errors were spread

## MC-5 NOTES

'throughout like birdseed at the bottom of a cage to mix with any other droppings that stick there and finally pass the scatological imaginations of the editors. Anyway, we hope the situation's been corrected with this issue. We had a switcheroo for printers, so that starting today, Feb. 13, we'll be coming out every 14 days, Karma permitting. Also, I should mention that we have to really launch a subscription drive, because in order to obtain a third-class mailing permit the post office demands we have a list of 200 subscribers (fear not—we'll hold onto the list at all times) to show them. So to be sure you receive each and every jam-packed up-to-date Argus at your fingertips, delivered at your front door, please subscribe. It ain't that much.

There are also two very exciting announcements to make, which combine the necessity for bread to put out this paper fortnightly, with bringing cultural innovations to sequestered Ann Arbor. Tuesday, Feb. 25, the MC-5 will be doing a benefit show—their first in Ann Arbor in quite a while and their last in Michigan before they head out to win the west. Kick out the jams with Rob and Wayne and Michael and Fred and JC and John and everyone at the Michigan Union Ballroom. The Red White and Blues Band will also play. And, after sufficient recovery time, the Beatles' flick, "Magical Mystery Tour" will make its first (and only, the promoters assure us) appearance in the Michigan area, and instead of all the dough going to feed fat bourgeoisie Madison Avenue promoter (although the Moptop Fab Four collect 50% of the gross) Argus will share in the profits. March 16 and 17, 7 shows in all, at the Natural Science Auditorium at the University of Michigan. The Beatles demand that \$2 be charged, perhaps thinking back to their Hamburg days. Anyway, it'll be a good thing to see, since everyone's always talking about it and no one's ever seen it (almost). Both events thanks to the sponsorship of the University Theatre and Journalism Group.

In this issue there's a really great rap with Richard Schechner, director of the infamous "Dionysus in '69" says a lot of things, but one of the things he doesn't say on tape is how pissed he is at the Michigan Daily for printing nude pictures on their front page special edition the morning after the bust. No cameras were allowed in, at Schechner's pleading, except the Daily snuck one in, and later disclaimed knowledge of any restriction. Now he says he'll have to deny knowledge of the picture in court. The saga of courageous, creative journalism continues.

Anyway, congratulations to the new Daily editor and managing editor, Hank Grix and Ron Landsman. (I guess they'll publish the whole list in a couple days.) Hopefully, some badly-needed changes can be implemented now that the deadwood has retired into careers in the big world.

That's about it for this time, just keep letting us know what you think, and if you think something should be reported on let us know, and if you want to subscribe, let us know, and if you want to distribute, let us know, and if there's someone out there who knows how to keep books, let us know. Smash the state and all...

—Ken Kelley

**ARGUS BENEFIT**  
KICK OUT THE JAMS  
WITH THE  
MC-5  
MICHIGAN UNION  
BALLROOM

FIRST TIME IN ANN ARBOR IN MONTHS,  
LAST TIME BEFORE THEY HEAD WEST,  
AND THE  
RED, WHITE AND BLUES  
BAND

TUESDAY  
FEB. 25 7-12 pm

TICKETS AT  
THE DOOR  
\$2.00

ZETA

## ARGUS DISTRIBUTION CENTERS

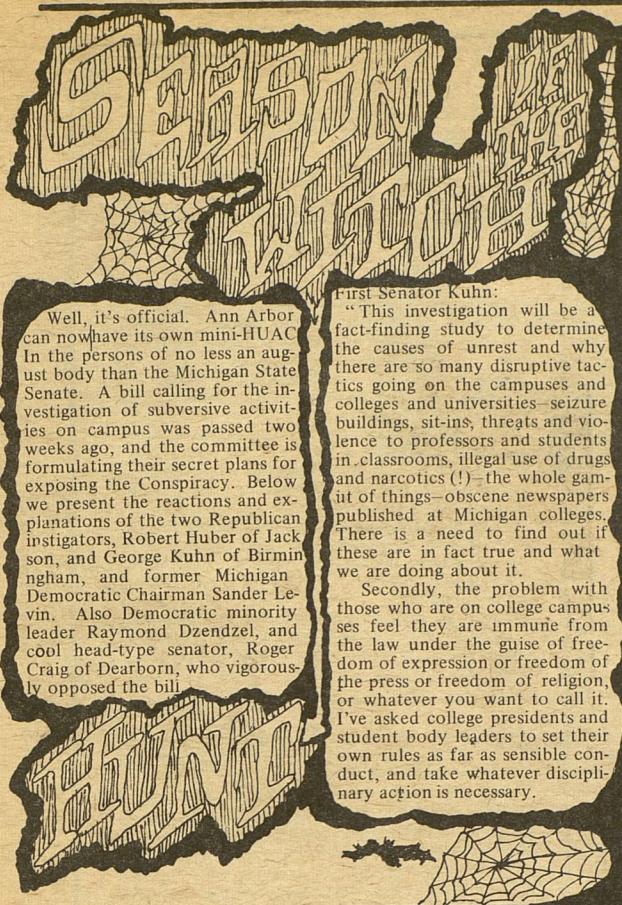
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Medina  
Discount Records (both stores)  
Little Things  
Middle Earth  
Music Shop  
Centicore Book Store  
Marshall's Book Store  
Blue Front  
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Cinema II (weekends)  
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Ypsilanti—contact Ian Reach (663-6306)

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There is a great chance to make some extra bread by selling Argus at events around the greater Ann Arbor environs, including Detroit. Call 769-6374 and investigate.

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Well, it's official. Ann Arbor can now have its own mini-HUAC. In the persons of no less an august body than the Michigan State Senate. A bill calling for the investigation of subversive activities on campus was passed two weeks ago, and the committee is formulating their secret plans for exposing the Conspiracy. Below we present the reactions and explanations of the two Republican instigators, Robert Huber of Jackson, and George Kuhn of Birmingham, and former Michigan Democratic Chairman Sander Levin. Also Democratic minority leader Raymond Dzendzel, and cool head-type senator, Roger Craig of Dearborn, who vigorously opposed the bill.

First Senator Kuhn:

"This investigation will be a fact-finding study to determine the causes of unrest and why there are so many disruptive tactics going on the campuses and colleges and universities—seizure buildings, sit-ins, threats and violence to professors and students in classrooms, illegal use of drugs and narcotics (1)—the whole gamut of things—obscene newspapers published at Michigan colleges. There is a need to find out if these are in fact true and what we are doing about it."

Secondly, the problem with those who are on college campuses feel they are immune from the law under the guise of freedom of expression or freedom of the press or freedom of religion, or whatever you want to call it. I've asked college presidents and student body leaders to set their own rules as far as sensible conduct, and take whatever disciplinary action is necessary.

We're taking a look at all the newspapers, as I said. It'll be done behind closed doors—we've had many volunteers of information, so many it's amazing. We'll give anybody immunity that wants it. If people don't come voluntarily, it'll be necessary to subpoena them. The obscene play ('Dionysus in '69') at the University of Michigan is only one of a gamut of things we'll be concerned with, although that in itself did not cause the introduction of the bill to create the Committee to Probe the Breaches of the Peace and Unrest on Campuses (CPBPUC), but it acted as a catalyst. I didn't attend performance. In my place I sent the Michigan State Police Intelligence Unit, who are much more expert in the field, to make a detailed report. As far as I can understand the report, there was obscene nudity, and dialogue that is totally shocking. It's criminal to expose the minds of 17, 18 and 19 year old students to that trash and I think President Fleming, knowing full well the premeditated intentions of the actors before hand, should not have condoned it. The whole thing was premeditated—this kind of thing upsets many people, and it continues the breaking down of the morals of the students. We're also going into SDS—who's behind it and why, and hope to find out what kind of legislation to pass to control this group. (Senator Kuhn added that he is an executive of the Ford Motor Company in the Ford Product Development Division.)"

Sen Huber, chrmn. of CPBPUC:

"There's a great dissatisfaction with what's going on in the campus—militancy, sit-ins, disorders, rioting. The committee will not conduct all hearings behind closed doors—just for the people that request it. We haven't made firm plans yet, and we'll certainly respect those students planning to meet anonymously. We should get in full swing in a couple weeks."

Sen. Dzendzel says:

"Yep, I was in favor of the bill. Some of us in both parties are concerned with what's happening on the campuses. The thing that should be remembered is that only a small percentage have created this thing, but they've created so much that's disturbing the 98 percent of students who want to get an education that it disturbs the public who'll up and say, 'Look, we don't want our tax dollars used to support this thing.'

Alot of us are concerned about non-students of the university who are permitted to linger on the campuses. It won't all be behind closed doors. I have confidence in the whole committee—Senator Huber will give it a thorough goingover, and it won't be harrassing or discriminatory."

Senator Levin:

"I don't know if it's going to turn into a witchhunt; I opposed it because it misshapes the picture on college campuses and the chairman, Huber, has shown himself to be unobjective on the entire matter. I'm not very optimistic—the concept of the committee misunderstands what campus life is all about today. Kuhn, and especially Huber, are going to use excessiveness—the very thing they criticize."

And finally, Senator Craig:

"The committee was stacked to make sure that the guys on it would be extreme right-wing republican. It's reprehensible. I predicted on the floor that this will turn into a witchhunt—who knows? I'm worried that the kids will play right into their hands. The worst thing they could do is underestimate Bob Huber—he may be a rightwinger, but he's not stupid. As for Kuhn, he's just not very bright."

## Circus of EDUCATION

by Robert Lytle

There was blood on the floor of the Union Ballroom Sunday night. There were screams of hate and rage and the air was thick with twisting thought. It was brutal. It was bitter. I'm afraid it will be all too easy for many who were there to dismiss the Circus of Education as another example of the crass vulgarity of student activists and the New Left. . . but that is far from the truth.

And I'm not going to tell you what the truth is. . . I don't know anything about truth. I'm going to tell you about some of the things I saw and felt at the Circus of Education and I'm going to try to give you some perspective on what happened.

The Circus of Education was an experiment. It was an experiment for the people who organized it and for the people who participated in it. Nobody knew how it would turn out [least of all the organizers] or even in what terms it should be evaluated. Friday night people began arriving in Ann Arbor from all over the country to plan and participate in the Circus: Mike Rossman came from Berkeley to work with the activists; Ken Margolis also came from Berkeley to work with Guerrilla theater; Carl Oglesby came from Antioch; Tom Linney from Washington; and others came from Urbana, Illinois and the Center for Change in New York City.

I met with and talked with the participants through the weekend. Some, like Mike Rossman and Carl Oglesby, have been working for the movement for years. I have seen them before and listened to them before. Others had no previous experience as organizers and movement workers. But they came, not only to teach, but also to learn. In this sense, the Circus of Education was unquestionably important and valuable, if only for the people working in the movement.

But I want to focus on the events of Sunday night—the Circus of Education itself—because to understand that chaos is to come closer to understanding not only the problems facing the movement, but perhaps more importantly, the problems that each of us must come to grips with.

Before the main event—the Ballroom scene with Deans Robertson and Spurr, and Mike Rossman and Carl Oglesby—I went to hear Oglesby discuss the present state of student activism on campus. If you have ever heard him speak before, you know that he is a brilliant, charismatic speaker with a subtle, careful mind to back his words. After asking a few token questions about what was going on at Michigan, he laid into what was on his mind. No bullshit, no slogans, no empty rhetoric. Oglesby had some very heavy thoughts [as well as some doubts about what he was doing] and he played it straight.

He started with a careful, devastating attack on the concept of Student Power [the sacred intonation that called the faithful to the Circus]. Unless it is directed toward the larger, more important issues facing society, the call for Student Power is, at best, a distraction. At worst, it is subversive to the movement and to the possibilities for meaningful change in America. Students at the University are, in the main, from the middle and upper classes of society. If Student Power means more privileges—and just that—forget it. Too many people are dying of hunger to ask for a bigger piece of cake,

The issue is not the abolition of language requirements. Let the Blacks in Detroit decide about the language requirements. But, man, the Blacks are in Detroit, not here. Yeah, the Blacks are in Detroit, not here. That's the issue.

After dealing with Student Power, Oglesby sketched out the transition in his life from an employee at Bendix Corporation through his years as a graduate student, as a novelist, through his involvement with SDS and finally to the work he is doing now. At each step he defined the problems that confronted him and explained how the attempt to find solutions led him to take an increasingly radical view of society and politics. He used both the language and approach of Marxist thought. It takes time and effort to understand the nature and mechanisms of oppression and it is even more difficult to provide viable alternatives. Oglesby stressed the fact that this is an on-going process. In fact, he said he would like several months to think his politics through.

I was very impressed with the clarity of Oglesby's thought and the subtlety of his arguments and I looked forward to his confrontation with the Deans.

The real circus was in the Ballroom. Three or four hundred students sat on the floor in a big circle. Dean Robertson of the Residential College, Dean Spurr of Rackham, Mike Rossman and Carl Oglesby sat on stools in the center of the circle. Dean Robertson spoke first.

I wish I could remember exactly what Dean Robertson said. Probably you've heard it all before: "We all want change, but. . ." Next to Oglesby's earlier talk, it was bullshit, just bullshit. It had no content and defined only Dean Robertson, not the issues. Next came Dean Spurr. He was worse. . . three or four anecdotes and he sat down.

[Let me say something here in defense of the Deans. They are administrators, not intellectuals or theoreticians. I doubt they could argue persuasively with Rossman, Oglesby or a hundred other people who were there. But they never had a chance amidst the shouts of rage and abuse. I think the Deans opening remarks were intended to show that they were open and friendly and willing to talk. They didn't anticipate what was to come. . . but nobody did.]

Throughout the Deans' opening remarks, I kept thinking, "Oglesby will tear them apart. He'll destroy them." But I was wrong. Oglesby ignored them completely. He spoke directly to the students. Again, with the same clarity and persuasiveness, he covered the issue of Student Power. He spoke of the need for a critical politics and an involvement beyond campus concern. Again, through his careful arguments, he stressed the importance of understanding the role that the University plays in an oppressive society.

When Oglesby sat down, I was sure that the whole show was his. Though Rossman, too, is charismatic and experienced, I doubted that he could match Oglesby's intensity and eloquence. In a way, I was wrong. Rossman wasn't eloquent; he acknowledged—in broken sentences—not only his appreciation, but his love and respect for Carl Oglesby. He then began his own address. Since the Circus of Education was supposed to



be about just that—education—Rossman tried to establish focus on the issues of tenure, requirements, etc., using more of an emotional appeal.

At one point, Rossman faltered. Suddenly he was knocked from his stool, the mike taken from his and a voice shouted, "Enough of this bullshit! On with the guerilla theater."

The guerilla theater set the tone for the rest of the evening. It was a crude, brutal parody of the University "machine". Nothing was planned to follow the theater presentation. It was hoped that people would rise and confront the Deans and each other.

For a moment there was an "open space". Everyone waited for someone to come and take charge. No one came out to assume authority. When it was realized that no one was going to come, the angriest voices filled the space. From then on, it was chaos. Sometimes people listened to the speakers, often they didn't. There

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# CHICAGO U. #1

by Ann Davis  
special to Argus

CHICAGO—Perhaps the best way of presenting a view of the broadbased student demands is by discussing the immediate background of the student strike at the University of Chicago. Here, in part, is a release by students occupying the Administration Building:

On the first Tuesday of this quarter students learned that Marlene Dixon had been fired because the Sociology Department, which never paid cent of her salary, thought that she should not be rehired. Two days later, a group of roughly 85 students voted that she should be rehired and that students should be given an institutionalized part, equal to faculty, on faculty hiring and firing. The first demand was clear: we were concerned to regain a respected and well-liked faculty member for our teacher. The second demand flowed from the first: many people felt that the only way to prevent a recurrence of this firing, for which there were ample precedents, was to institutionalize the students' role in the decision-making process.

During the month of January a large movement, probably the largest student movement on this campus in this decade, grew up around these two demands. Many students were primarily concerned that Mrs. Dixon be retained. They were motivated either by her work, which was part of a new and radical direction in sociology, or her critical concern with the society generally, the role of women in society, or the place of students in the university, or with her ability to excite students in class and in private conversation, her concern that they genuinely get themselves an education. Other students were more concerned that we attempt to prevent such firings in the future, and a large movement for student power grew out of the Dixon case, in which many other interested students got involved.

Until we entered the Administration Building, the Administration had responded negatively to both of those demands. They had set up a faculty committee to deal with both the Dixon case and the broader general issues involved; they had recommended the establishment of student advisory committees in all academic units, following a committee report which grew out of the 1966 ranking sit-in and had never been implemented or accepted since then. The Administration had attempted to scare us out of action by threats, packing meetings, and outright lies [see Marlene Dixon's statement on her own case].

But when we went into the Administration Building, the Administration was forced to deal with the issues in some way that would undercut the fantastic campus support for our demands, which was obvious from the over 400 people who entered the building under clear threat of expulsion, and from the great demand for amnesty that was voted immediately all over the campus.

Our noncompromisable demands have NOT been added to or deleted from since our initial statement. By "noncompromisable" or "non-negotiable" we mean we will not leave the Administration Building until substantial progress is made in meeting them. These are:

1] The immediate rehiring of Marlene Dixon as Assistant Professor of Sociology and Human Development.

2] The acceptance in principle of equal student-faculty power in the hiring and firing of professors.

3] That any pay loss suffered by employees as a result of our action be recompensed by the university.

4] Amnesty with the understanding that we consider our actions legitimate and not subject to discipline.

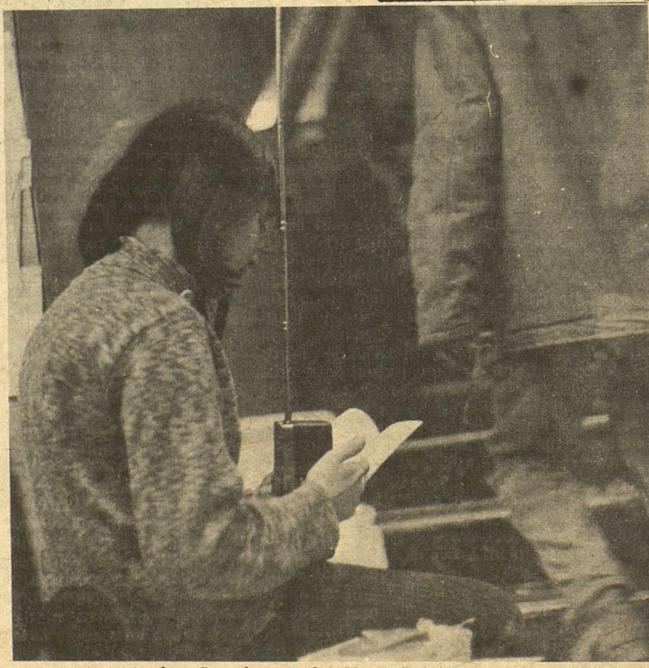
There is no single large radical group on the University of Chicago campus—it's a very big, alienated place. Sure, there have been demonstrations in the past—two years ago a sit-in over the University's release of class ranking to draft boards resulted in 50 suspensions, and last year there was some talk about protesting the University "expansion" into Woodlawn, the ghetto to the south, to "help" in urban renewal by removing blacks, but no actual demonstrations resulted. [This issue particularly has cemented the alliance between the University and Mayor Daley—when Saul Aulinski was organizing in Chicago against such help, the University collaborated with Daley to try and suppress him].

And last year the Black Student Alliance had a brief sit-in over demands for more black students and a black history course—but the BSA is not supporting the present strike.

Marlene Dixon was paid by the Human Development Program, who recommended her rehiring for a new contract. But this approval was vetoed by the reactionary senior faculty of the Sociology Department. Some people explain the firing as a publish or perish case—the University's main concern is to have a "community of scholars" research—with little emphasis on undergraduate teaching.

The most vocal protests prior to the sit-in was by two women's liberation groups, who demand that 50% of the faculty and students should be women—the proportion of women in the population. So when the sit-in began last Thursday, the majority of the students were SDS members, mostly undergraduates interested in Dixon's rehiring—and a handful of Progressive Labor-Worker Student Alliance people. Later that day approximately 115 "summons" were given out—only about 10 people responded, and their disciplinary hearings began that day. Law students then got together to defend them, giving legal advice and making a big issue over the lack of due process in the disciplinary committee and the lack of students on

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Student Security guard at U-C Administration Bldg.

## CHICAGO REPORT NO. 2

At about 9:00 Saturday night, February 9, on the fourth floor of the liberated Administration Bldg. at the University of Chicago, a mass meeting was being held to discuss what would be done in the event of a bust. Discussion was slow, conclusions few, and evidence that the students were at all unified practically absent. This was the tenth day of the sit-in, and morale was low. Security was loose, and though everyone was having a good enough time speculating about an invasion, it didn't seem as if we really believed it could happen. Everyone was getting pretty frustrated [the kind of frustration that arises when everybody is wondering how the hell everyone else can be so stupid], when someone from the security force on the first floor ran in and said some people had broken in. He told everyone to get down there fast; a few people started to run for the stairs, while others urged them to stay and protect the floor. By the time I got to the first floor it was almost over. Two of the university's security guards had two of the intruders against the wall with their hands on their heads, and about six students had another pinned to the floor. One of the students was hurt pretty badly, and was staggering around with blood spilling from his forehead. Outside of a few cut lips everyone seemed all right.

Legend has it that about 25 had charged through the door when a forerunner had been stopped for lack of a student identification. One had wielded a shovel to do his damage to the one seriously hurt protestor, another smashed a record player [or maybe two or three ganged up on it], and in general things were pretty well messed up. Had the security guards not been there it might have been quite a battle, as it was, perhaps it was a good lesson; this was the first time the occupation had been challenged. The strikers knew that if they wanted the building they would have to hold it. Security was immediately tightened, strikers who slept at home were called back in. About 200 slept in that night, and it looks like they're there to stay. The next day the Minutemen took credit for the planning of the attack. Maybe someday they'll realize that radical, disruptive action serves only to unite those they wish to destroy.

# HEADLINES

FROM LNS

AUSTIN—A disorderly conduct bill, aimed at Texas' more rowdy types, has been submitted to the state legislature by a representative from Kerrville.

Texas House Bill 57, introduced by Rep. James E. Nugent, makes disorderly conduct a misdemeanor or subject to a \$200 fine.

The bill considers the following actions to be disorderly conduct:

—Creating a danger in a residential area where no reason for alarm exists—interfering with peaceful conduct of people in their homes.

—Indecent, profane or vulgar language in the presence or hearing of others.

—Disrupting in any way the business of the courts.

—Maliciously obstructing doorways and halls of public buildings.

—Willful or malicious behavior that interrupts a speaker at a lawful assembly or meeting and restrains others present from participating meaningfully in the meeting.

CHEYENNE—Males would be allowed to vote at the age of 19 under a proposed Wyoming law—but not if they have long hair.

The state senate amended a bill to lower the voting age to read that "the same standards of personal grooming shall apply to all male 19 and 20-year old voters as are acceptable in military service."

The author of the amendment, J.W. Meyers, said everyone knew what happened to "some of these curly locks" when young men entered military service.

MEXICO CITY—Sixty Mexico City police officers are undergoing intensive training in the use of newly acquired anti-riot tanks, officials said recently. The highly mobile tanks are equipped with gas grenades and other devices. Once the 60 officers have completed their training, they will train groups of 100 men each. Last October, Mexican riot police massacred hundreds of students and workers in the Tlatelolco Housing Project in Mexico City.

HOUSTON—Robert Welch, president and founder of the John Birch Society, said recently in Houston that "the real purpose of sex education in public schools is to keep our high school youth obsessed with sex. The Communists have pledged to destroy our whole generation of American youth."

The Birchers plan to combat sex education and pornography this year by establishing local commissions called "Movement to Restore Decency."

TOPEKA—Pvt. Donald Till wasn't happy when the MP's busted him for being AWOL. When they decided to fly him to Fort Riley, Kan., for a court-martial, Till hatched a plan. Feigning fear of flying, he conned a parachute out of his captors, and then questioned them at length about its use. Mid-flight, the industrious soldier lept 3,000 feet to his freedom. Unfortunately, he was captured a short time later.

NEW YORK—Find out what you're doing and how dangerous you are! Read "Communism", a new book by J. Edgar Hoover to be published by Random House.

Hoover "deals with what he considers the influence of Communism in such areas of American life as the New Left, the civil rights movement and black nationalism". You're bound to fit in there somewhere.

NEW YORK—Professional anti-Communists rightwingers and social democrats alike—have joined together in a new organization dedicated to "Combat extremist putschism" on American campuses. The group, the Coordinating Center for Democratic Opinion, is developing contacts among faculty on campuses throughout the country and is circulating statements in support of police action against "disruptions." Among its leaders are S.I. Hayakawa, emperor of San Francisco State College.

NEW YORK—Movement delegations meeting with the NLF have been asked to pass on the NLF's great need for quinine, or money to buy quinine. Anyone who can help may contact the U.S. Committee to Aid the NLF, Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York City 10011.

## Resistor's Last Recourse - JAIL

[The author is about to face trial for failing to report for induction.]  
by Arnie Bauchner

The following is the letter I sent to "my" draft board when I returned the draft cards, Dec. 4, 1967.:

Dear Sirs: On Oct. 21 at the Pentagon I burned YOUR general registration certificate. Enclosed you will find the last communique I received from the Selective Service System (this year's 25 classification). I can no longer cooperate with the selective Service System in any way. There are a number of factors which have led me to this position. I. The United States' position in Viet Nam is morally, historically, politically and legally bankrupt. The United States has violated the Geneva Agreements (1954), the United Nation's Charter, the U.S. Constitution, and manipulated the spurious SEATO accord to suit its own position. The U.S. has made mockery of the political ideal of self-determination. The U.S. is the heir to the corrupt French colonial system. However, the most grievous charges against America can best be understood in stark, moral terms. Daily, we commit genocide on the Vietnamese. Vietnamese are napalmed. Cluster bombs are used to murder the Vietnamese living in both halves of that divided nation. Millions of Vietnamese are now barely surviving in secured hamlets, our euphemism for concentration camps. Indeed, the spirit of Auschwitz and Buchenwald is resurrected everyday in Viet Nam.

II. The second crime and tragedy which we confront in Vietnam is the plight of the American soldier. Thus far, over 12,000 (now over 30,000) have died, over 110,000 (now over 195,000) injured. Though these young men have been killed by the Vietnamese, it is the American military-industrial complex which is really responsible for these needless, useless deaths. Those Americans who have died represent only part of the tragedy caused by our intervention. I have met Vietnamese Veterans who have been either physically or mentally maimed by this war. The U.S. is responsible for the hellish, tortuous conditions in which these men are condemned to live.

Perhaps, you find these indictments incomprehensible, unspeakable. However, it is in articulating the unspeakable, that we recognize the depths of horror, torment, and anguish which Vietnam represents.

III. Our Vietnamese policy is not an aberration, not a collection of misguiding actions. It—the policy—can be seen as part and parcel of the U.S.'s Cold War, "anti-communist" policies. We suppress liberation movements in all parts of the world—Asia, Africa, Latin America—we support the most corrupt oligarchic regimes.

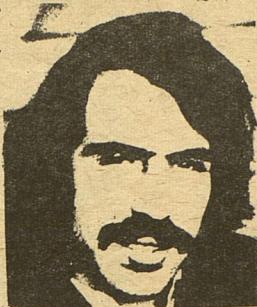
IV. The Selective Service System is one of the most obvious manifestations of the garrison society in which we live. The state of affairs clearly is in conflict with the guidelines established in the Constitution. Civilian and military authority ought to be separation with the civilian branch exercising complete control over the military branch.

V. The Selective Service System mirrors many of the inequities found in the society. The middle-class youth often receive student deferments. We are pampered. The poor, both Black and White, are forced to serve, and, therefore, forced to DIE. They have no power in this society, therefore, it is easy to abuse them.

VI. Not only does the Selective Service System feed men into the war machine, but it controls our lives from the ages 18-35. The Selective Service System manipulates us through fear; makes us conform to inequitable conditions.

Personal liberties, as guaranteed in the Constitution, are ignored. We are no longer allowed to live our lives as we wish.

Let me re-iterate. By complying with the Selective Service System, my life begins to mirror the destructive, distorted image of human life which our garrison state pictures. I can no longer do this. Therefore, I must dissociate myself from and non-cooperate with the Selective Service System. Peace.



## NURSING BLUES

Some of you who are U. of M. students and who read the Michigan Daily know that a certain body of students in the Nursing School are pushing hard to be able to wear blue jeans. Student nurses were allowed, as of last year to wear slacks within the medical center [which includes the medical library] but they are not allowed to wear blue jeans [they can wear purple, tuscia, yellow, white and any other colored jeans though]. Anyway, this is what those stupid nurses are fighting for—in the mean time they are forgetting that their entire freedom is taken away from them by a tight [up-tight] little group of women better known as the administrators of the Nursing School.

This small group of bitchy females have given themselves the right to make nursing stu-

dents behave in whatever manner they decree. My experience has shown that their decree's vary in order to make it as difficult and shitty for the student as is possible. Now it is possible to get student nurses to see and even agree to this, but it is impossible to get them to do anything. Do you want to know why? Because this group of women recently decreed that "Enrollment in the Nursing School carries with it the obligation to maintain the highest standards of conduct both within and without the Nursing School." If one does not comply with this she can be expelled from school for "conduct unbecoming to a nurse." If action this drastic cannot be carried out by these women for some reason they can still prevent the student from ever getting a job by telling future em-

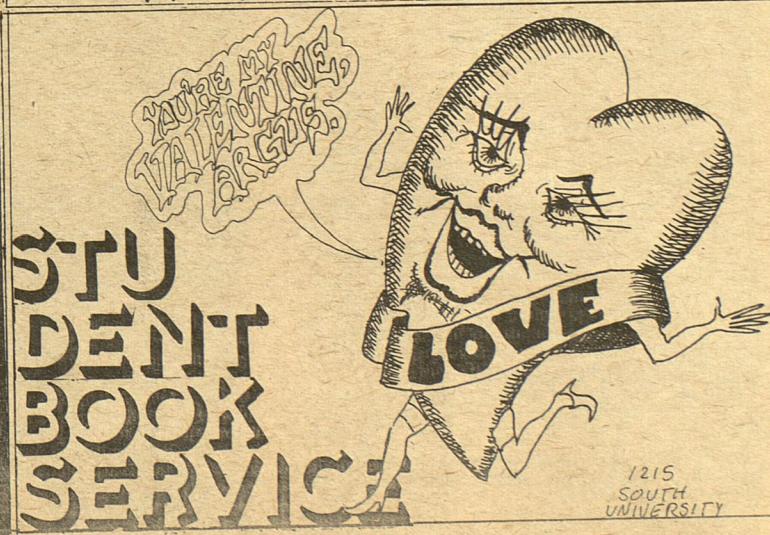
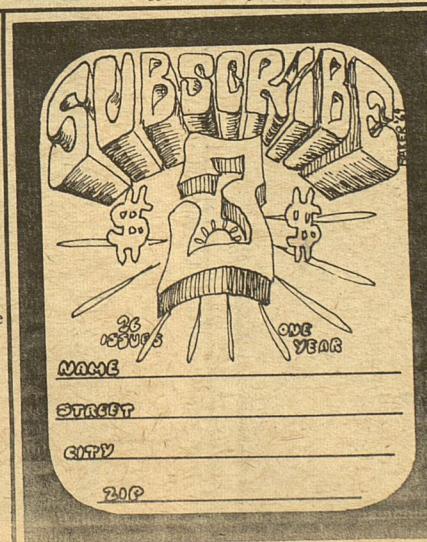
ployers that she is rebellious and antagonistic and no hospital will hire a nurse that might help cause a strike.

Another interesting fact that I recently discovered about the Nursing School is that if one does not attend her graduation exercises then she cannot get her degree. Oh I know that legally they can't do this, but no one ever fights hard enough to get them to stop.

This reminds me of a situation that probably occurs every semester, but that I am only aware of happening during one semester. During one of their rotations [courses on different aspects of nursing] student nurses must take Public Health Nursing. The practical or clinical work done during this semester is done in other cities and

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# NAKED ?!



# DAVE VAN RONK



[Editor's note: Dave Van Ronk will be appearing at Canterbury House the weekend of February 21-23. This interview was participated in by various and sundry people, including some Argus staff members once in a while.]

Argus: Do you want to talk about the play or the album you have coming up?

Van Ronk: No, it may suck.

Argus: What's the difference between the music you're doing now and the music you were doing four or five years ago?

Van Ronk: Oh, man, what's the difference between an apple and an orange. Don't give me a jive question like that, I'll give you a jive answer and nobody'll be happy. What's the difference between the way you are now and the way you were five years ago, you want to try and answer that? That was in another country, and besides the witch is dead.

Argus: What do you have coming up in the immediate future?

Van Ronk: Nothing.

Argus: You ever going to repeat that funk concert you did at Carnegie Hall in 1965, the first folk and rock concert?

Van Ronk: Look, I've been through this thirty-five thousand times, and I'll go through it thirty-five thousand more times, and each time I do it I do it with a little less tolerance. When I opened up as a singer or whatever I was, with the exception of Josh White, Gary Davis and Brian McGee there was not a single authentic blues singer on the set. OK? And somewhere in 1958 or 1959 somebody asked me a question—it was pertinent, certainly—they asked me "why do you sing all these old Negro songs", and I answered, "If I don't sing them, who will?" The question has been answered, now. People like Waterman and Hoskins and Charters have combed the country and found all these people, man, there's no need for me to do that stuff anymore, man, and that's that. OK, now the question—the traditional question is "what else can you do". It's not only that, but it's my head isn't there anymore, you know? I don't like to romanticize myself as something I ain't, whatever the hell I am. It was groovy when I was a kid—you know, some kind of ruff tuff this that and the other thing, down at the heels, hard, "bad buck". Aah, that's not where I'm at, and never was. When I did it I was trying to be sincere, I did the best I could.

Argus: What happened to that beautiful hummingbird?

Van Ronk: I never owned a hummingbird.

Argus: On the cover of that Mercury album?

Van Ronk: That wasn't a hummingbird.

Argus: That's disappointing.

Van Ronk: It sure is. It took me two years to figure it out too.

Argus: Why?

Van Ronk: Because I got a bum ear, that's why. I'm not jiving, I didn't know nothing about guitar. If you put your fingers this way, you get a chord, and that's about as far as it goes. Some people have a good ear for that kind of thing. Some people don't.

Argus: You still do "Cocaine Blues".

Van Ronk: Sometimes, I still like it—I still like most of the old ones, but it's like everyone wants me to be 19 again. I don't know why anybody wants anybody to be anything.

Argus: You're good friends with Hugh Romney of the HogFarm. They're really getting hassled around the country wherever they go.

Van Ronk: Those cats set themselves up. They're going to get that kind of hassle because they try and act

like free Americans in free America. They're trying to tell America that this is a free country, and the people who run America know better than that.

Argus: When they were first coming through Michigan in this one little town [Sturgis], they won the cops over and even ended up selling them \$7.50 worth of their posters.

Van Ronk: I don't know. I dig those cats very much. But if they're fools enough to believe in the American dream, they must pay the penalty, and they do. They persist in their foolishness. Therefore I respect, admire and love them in one sense. But hey, oh, this has been a vicious vicious repressive foul country for a helluva long time and anyone who persists in believing in anything else... I mean, you know, "a cop is a human being" can teach us nothing. Once in a while a cop is a human being, but statistically speaking...

Q: I don't know. As far as that type of thing, I've never seen anything as beautiful. Forty people living together on next to nothing, going around making people happy. And they're real. It's almost too much to believe.

Van Ronk: Most of that you say is true, but the question is, what do we learn from this.

Q: It's worth it—just turning people on.

Van Ronk: Look let me tell you something man, the trouble with America is that everybody is too much turned on to themselves.

Q: I don't mean to themselves.

Van Ronk: Everybody is digging himself and his own trip. The question is, what is your trip.

Q: Other people.

Van Ronk: Well, then, we get into a whole other convention there don't we. It just shits all over. I was looking at Hugh's bus. I'll tell you something. In ten years that'll be in the vo-do-dee-o-do category. You dig what I'm saying?

Q: Not necessarily.

Van Ronk: Check me out in two years. Look, man, I'm not down on them at all. I love it. It harms no one, and it grooves a lot of people and a lot of people get pleasure out of it, and what could be wrong with that? OK, but that's not saying that the Bolshoi Ballet is the answer to the world's problems. I'm not down on the Bolshoi Ballet either because the Bolshoi Ballet has smarts enough or the New York Philharmonic has smarts enough not to go around telling everyone they're the answer to the world's problems. 8-5 it's very vo-do-dee-o-do in two years. I was in the Haight when everybody was yelling and screaming about all that shit, and I watched that die and this is just an off-shoot of it, and I'll see this one die too. Not necessarily that it should. It's the presumption that bugs me, not the lack of accomplishment or talent or skill or creativity—that's all there and I dig it, I'm for it. I can't be against that. But presumptuousness. That's another thing. When I was a Catholic they used to tell me there were two primary sins against faith—what are they?

Argus: Presumption and Despair.

Van Ronk: Presumption and despair. And the funny thing is that if you study your book of changes or your Hegel, you learn that they're the same thing.

Q: It's just that's a very negative attitude to take, because like I've been around enough to realize that people are able to be turned on by this kind of thing. They're very suspicious is all.

Van Ronk: Yes, yes, yes. I don't believe that people are inherently evil, certainly. People are very smart. If they've got anything—even temperament decent going down, I don't want it to be stopped. And I tell you, there's a certain amount of *sechol*—a lot of savvy—in that kind of an attitude. People will move and change when they're pressed and forced. Pressed and forced, and who leans in that direction. That's now the direction we'll have to move in. You know all this is the descendent of the old canard, in order to change the world you must educate people. That old Jeffersonian shit, I'm sorry, man, people are not going to be educated by just turning them on or reading them a book they haven't heard or expanding them to some kind of trip that they haven't been through before. That's just not going to work. Yes occasionally you will find a bunch of cops whom you will amuse enough that they won't beat you to death. Now, what are you going to prove with that? I'll tell you what you will prove—that human beings don't always want to kill other human beings—there are moments when they don't feel like it. That's for sure. That we prove nothing. We can only speculate.

Q: The only clear way I can see of changing the world as it is now is through the revolution that's gonna come.

Van Ronk: Uhuh. Do you really think people in power will relinquish it without a fight?

Q: The people in power aren't gonna be the people in power forever.

Van Ronk: That's right. How are they going to get out of power? Are they going to wither away, atrophy?

Q: They'll lose their support.

Van Ronk: Oh, I see.

Q: By people just seeing that it's not right to fuck with other people.

Van Ronk: I see. I'm sorry man. Ah, either you or I are living in... either you're living on Mars or I'm living on Mars. You've been around and traveled with the buses and seen. I won't chomp you on that score... that's not the point. The point is, understand the things that move the people that have the power—why they must do the things they do. Furthermore, you cannot take power away from them by withdrawing support. If that were true, this system would have collapsed three or four years ago. [vehemently]. Nobody believes this administration. Nobody believes in the system anymore. Republicans, Democrats, Independents, Socialists, Fascists, you name it, in this country they don't believe in it.

Q: How do you take the power away, or don't you know?

Van Ronk: Ultimately you take—like Chairman Mao says, and I'm no Maoist—power lies in the power of the gun, and they have the guns.

Q: We have the people.

Van Ronk: That's cool. That's wonderful. I remember there was a time when there were about three or four or five English settlers on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. They didn't have much in the way of numbers. I'm sorry man, but justice doesn't triumph by simply being just. Doesn't. If you pose a serious threat to people, they'll kill you. They've done it time and time again. Read your goddamn history.

Q: I don't think that's anyway to approach the world by looking at the past.

Van Ronk: I'm sorry if I cannot look at the past how the hell can I understand the present.

Q: All right. Look at the past and understand the present but don't make predictions for the future from the past.

Van Ronk: I can see what they're doing right now.

Q: Ok it's happening right now, but it's changing and changing in a lot of places, you know that.

Van Ronk: Look. All right, all I know is that if you're going to make any kind of... we're agreed on that if we're agreed on that if we're going to make any kind of...

Q: I'm not going to go out and start shooting cops. I'm not going to get into that.

Van Ronk: I have no intention of shooting at anyone that doesn't shoot at me first. I'm not a bomb-thrower and I'm not a nut and I don't intend to get myself killed by a guy, it's going to be at a very high price to the people that kill me if I have any choice in the matter. Odds are I'll be killed by a runaway beer truck. But if I have a choice...

Q: I can dig what you're saying but I don't see where it leads you.

Van Ronk: Baby, it leads me to the point. Karl Marx used to say in his letters to friends. There was one letter he wrote to Engels. He said in effect—I paraphrase very broadly—Socialism will not cure warts, Socialism will not cure broken hearts. Socialism will do nothing but free man to face his own basic tragic nature. Now I'm sorry if my vision is essentially optimistic dash pessemistic. But I'm very much into the dialectic—into Hegel, Marx, the Book of Change. And I think the optimistic-pessemistic point of view nearest correlates to reality as far as we can go. I think man is a beautiful monster.

Q: It may correlate to reality but I know reality cannot stay the same as it is now.

Van Ronk: No. Reality is a process of change. That's what it is. But it changes according to law. Oh yes. It changes to cause and effect so on and so on. You can't change reality simply by changing something that goes on in your head. What the trouble with your point of view is—I don't know if you know classic philosophy or not, and you're none the worse off if you don't—you're a solipsist.

Q: I know that when I was traveling out west before I was with the HogFarm, I got shit on by a lot of people.

Van Ronk: Yeah, and you're gonna get shit on no matter what you do, and you're gonna meet a lot of great people no matter what you do and so on and so on. And with the Farm—fine, they're wonderful people.

No one's downing them. They give pleasure to a great many people and what the fuck can be wrong with that. But is it the answer? I say no, it's not the answer—you've got to be *hard*. If you wanna make an answer.

Q: Well, like how does that differ from the way the man is acting *right now*?

Van Ronk: He is hard for his purposes—we must be hard for ours.

photographs by J.J. Hewes



Q: I've like been on the whole revolutionary trip and I just can't dig it—hating anybody.

Van Ronk: I have a couple of, three, personal enemies whom I hate and I really enjoy that because I can't hate many people and it's a really nice trip. And I enjoy hating them so much that even when I don't dislike them anymore I keep on pumping up hatred for them because I dig it, but there are only three or four of them. Otherwise, I don't hate anybody. I don't hate the capitalist class and I don't hate individual capitalists, let us put it that way no feeling at all. There are good ones, bad ones, nice ones, nasty ones—absolutely true. Good and bad in every kind, like they say. Great profundity. But it answers nothing. You have to kill nice people sometimes and spare monsters sometimes. But you have to—what the hell—what you're doing, otherwise you're gonna be a fucking Hitler or a fucking Stalin and you've got to be damned careful. The only way you can achieve that kind of care is through philosophy. You know, John Reed, the guy that wrote "Ten Days That Shook The World." He was in Moscow talking with Lenin when the Red Army had beaten back the armies of Piłsudski—the Polish armies—I guess in 1920. The Red Army was hammering at the gates of Warsaw. And Jack Reed got an interview with Lenin that very day. What did Lenin want to discuss that day? He wanted to discuss the relationship of Hegel to Kant. And so Reed said, "Are you out of your mind. The Red Army is hammering at the gates of Warsaw and you want to discuss philosophy?" Lenin said, "There is no better time to discuss philosophy."

Q: Well, it's like I'm sort of inclined to Anarchism and...

Van Ronk: Well, an Anarchist would certainly agree with that general formulation—I know I came out of the Anarchist movement.

Q: Well, there has to be like groups of people...

Van Ronk: There has to be a world.

Q: Well, like it has to start somewhere I really think we can change the world, but it has to start somewhere.

Van Ronk: How many years? Do we have fifteen? With buses running around turning cops on? Thirty? Forty? I don't know how many years we have under any circumstances.

Q: All right, so if there's no guaranteed time left, the best way to do it is in the interests of people.

Van Ronk: We have somewhere or other, this is some kind of article of faith with me and I really can't explain it—somewhere or other we have a loyalty to the race. So while individual salvation is very important and such like, we have to try...

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Argus: So, anyway, you got into this from picking up this book [Bible]?

Van Ronk: Well, no, I got into it because I was raised a Catholic, and I got into reading it and I believe I've read the book through three or four times. Of course there are gaps—for the especially dull, maudlin sections, that can't conceivably signify anything. Well—that is the 24th? No, the 22nd psalm [that several people had been discussing earlier]. It happens to be I think the finest piece of poetry I've ever read. It builds and builds and finally it just whoooo. You've got to read it thirty times. . . . The world is in very bad shape and it needs very strong medicine.

Argus: Do you ever watch other performers?

Van Ronk: I don't watch too many other performers.

Argus: Makes you nervous?

Van Ronk: Well, the thing is if they're really good I identify with what they're up to. They're up there knocking themselves out, and I'm up there with them, and I knock myself out and work hard. So after twenty minutes or a half hour, I'm exhausted; I get restless. In part, I can't watch another performer for too terribly long. I can listen on a record, coldly and analytically, or I can just relax and listen, but when I watch somebody else work, I know what they're going through. Man, I'll tell you something—if I were another performer, I would hate to be sentenced to watch me when I'm on; when I'm just singing off the top of my head, which I can do and get away with moderately well.

As a matter of fact it's possible to put together an amusing and even a delightful set, singing nothing but light stuff and kidding around, and so on and so on, and not getting yourself involved. Now that's a whole other thing, but when I see a performer who really does get him or herself involved, and I have to watch it for more than twenty minutes or so, then I get uncomfortable; I get twitchy and nervous.

It's not like watchin James Brown, I mean that doesn't make me tired. It's tiring, yes, but it's in another field, you know what I mean. I don't mean to say that James doesn't get tired when he works—he does, but he's in another bag. But I'm sure he doesn't get tired the way I do and I don't get tired the way he does. But when I watch Judy Collins, or Joni Mitchell or Bobby Dylan, or I can name five, ten, more other people who really get into something, after about fifteen or twenty minutes, I've had it. When I'm on, when I'm really into what I'm doing, I don't know how I stay on stage for as long as I do. Partially, I think it's because I'm too tired to get up and walk off. I'm not kidding.

Argus: Do you find you talk more when you're tired?

Van Ronk: No, I talk when I bloody well feel like it. Well, the thing is, I talked about the middle of the set sometimes, and the reason is that I sometimes get a little bit too heavy. I had gotten carried away with my own stuff, and who was it, Archibald MacLeish or Peter Virek—one of the two—said, the art, of being bard-tender, is never getting drunk.

Anyhow, I had gotten carried away; a very good friend of mine had died, I had met a very good friend I hadn't seen for years—the three of us very very tight—and I got thinking about it. And that's what constructed the first half of the set; I just said oh! Whew—this is your trip; these people have their trips, and so on and so on—you can carry them just so far, then you get too carried away.

Argus: Is that stuff going through your mind while you're up there?

Van Ronk: Yeah, of course. Well, all kinds of things run through my mind. You're doing a minimum of three things when you're on stage—I'm correlating words with notes and playing the guitar—now, those three things—words, notes, guitar—those three are essential. Now what I'm thinking about besides that, well, I can be thinking about anything. You know, like, uh,

the letters of Van Gogh to his brother all the way down to last week's laundry lists. Like, who knows? Your head just keeps going. A good sixty percent of it has got to be instinct—a conditioned reflex, I think, is closest to it. I think, about what I'm singing, I think about the notes I'm playing, and I think about how am I going to move from this note to that note—I think about everything, man—I think about sex, I think about war policy...

Argus: What is your background of musical training? Van Ronk: When I was playing jazz and listening to a lot of the mainstream jazz groups, I probably knew more, technically, about music than I know now. I just don't need it now—what you don't use, you don't remember. When I worked out that Mose Allison thing, "One of These Days," I had forgotten those minor blues changes because I hadn't played them in five or six or seven years. I had to sit down and just go over them interval by interval to re-remember them. Once I got my teeth into them, so they sounded right, well, yeah it all flowed back. Most of what I know, I use, praise God—that way I don't forget too terribly much. Anything you don't use, you ain't gonna remember.

Argus: But it's really hard to get feeling into it.

Van Ronk: Don't worry about feeling, worry about the notes. If you've got any damn feeling, it'll come out. If you don't have any damn feeling, if you're worrying about the notes, at least the note'll come out.

Argus: Yeah, but it's really not inspiring, just musical notes.

Van Ronk: Yes, that's very true; that's why I don't like Segovia, that's why I don't like E. Power Biggs. There are all kinds of very fine classical musicians whom I can't stand to listen to. Sometimes [Wanda] Landowski drives me crazy, because she's such a stickler for goddamn notes. But when she's on, she phrases like a bitch. Sometimes she's just a note nut—that don't cut it. I could tell you people in my own related fields, but there's a tape going...

Argus: I'll turn it off.

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Van Ronk: . . . and this one has a case of emotional diarrhea. You got ears, your ears are going to tell you. If you want to know my criteria, I'll tell you and you can judge for yourself.

Argus: What are your criteria?

Van Ronk: Basically, I think it comes down to two things; one which I can explain, one which I cannot. One, intelligence. All kinds of things—one of my masters is Jelly Roll Morton. Now, Jelly not only played and sang well, and did all kinds of things in traditional jazz . . . you know, like if you don't dig all kinds of traditional jazz, it doesn't necessarily exclude your digging what he has to say. Like talking about dynamics, he said you can't play triple forte all the time. If you've got a full glass of water, he says you can't put anything into it, but if you've got half a glass of water, you take a little bit out or put in a little bit more, or you can fill it all the way up if you want. Now, JSB's [Bach] couldn't have formulated a better rule on the question of dynamics. Now, there's a question of intelligence, of "so-and-so is an intelligent performer." It comes out in terms of "this person has sensitivity; this person has this, that, and the other thing." Actually, there are certain rules you can follow—the rest of it, I don't know, some very skilled people have no talent at all.

Argus: Like who?

Van Ronk: [laughs] Look, normally I don't give a rat's ass, if I feel like downing somebody. I'll down them, but I just don't feel like downing anybody. There are an awful lot of skilled people who have no talent whatsoever, and I don't like to down skilled people, because there are so many unskilled people who have no talent.

Argus: The reason I asked is that I could see more what you're trying to say if you give examples.

Van Ronk: Well, you know it's hard for me to say. Sometimes, for example, I think that the Beach Boys are machines. They are so precise—I'd give my left nut to hear the Beach Boys make a real mistake, not one where they're goofing around, but a real mistake. But I do think they're really talented, but still, it does kind of bother me. It's the kind of thing, like we were saying last night, you see a perfectly beautiful woman; you want to see a little bit of a wrinkle on the end of her nose, they ever cut—no, I haven't gotten the last one yet. But, I will...

Argus: Who else do you dig?

Van Ronk: I don't put anybody in the same category as the Beach Boys—what do you want to ask—who do I like? Oh, like, my favorite composer is Beethoven; contemporary composer right now, my favorite is a Pole named Penderecki. He wrote a Passion according to Saint Mark that is just hair-raising—it's so much—two twelve-inch LP's—it's so much that you've got to be in good psychological shape to take the whole thing. Curiously enough, just by happenstance, I picked it up



on a Holy Thursday and played it on a Good Friday; almost drove me back to the Church. But not quite.

Talk about perfect balance, talent, no feeling of soul. . . . Stravinsky. This guy can do anything except make you cry. I love Stravinsky, and yet he is colder than a witch's tit.

Leonard Cohen is a real poet, and when he fails, he fails as a poet. That is to say, he has bitten off more than he can chew, or something like that. He never fails in a piddling sort of way, like somebody like Eliot would fail. I'm very ambiguous about Leonard—he's written things I wish I'd said. His shortcomings remind me of the shortcomings of, say, Whitman. Whitman drives me crazy, but Whitman was afraid to tackle something; never afraid of an overstatement.

I think Leonard, right now is the nearest thing to a true poet that we've got, at least that I know of, and another fellow named Donald Finkel whom I'm always touting but nobody else has ever read. Donald is an unusually insightful person—so's Leonard. They both fling the language around with such assurance. Of course, the really, really magnificent poetry was Dylan Thomas. Now Dylan threw the words around—the only parallel I can think of is Dylan is not Swinebourne, who threw words around with more technical accomplishment than anyone I can think of, but Shakespeare. And Dylan fell apart because he had nothing more to say. He was denuded of message, denuded of things to do, and so on; he had only his magnificent skill with the language. If you've ever read *The Ballad of the Long-Legged Bail*—what a great, great piece of flinging the language around, but what the hell does it mean? But you never go wrong by reading the thing—it's great to see the language used that well. Yeats was much closer to the vine, even when he was a young romantic fool—"Irish Airman" you know that one? "Those I fight I do not hate and those I guard I do not love." But "Among Schoolchildren", that's a great one, too. But you get early Yeats, and the use of the language there is so magnificent.

Argus: Seems so loose, but so tied together.

Van Ronk: Do you know who the best technician we have with us now is, who our Swinebourne is? Joni Mitchell. I remember I had an argument with Joni once—now, Joni doesn't especially care to read. And so I was yelling at her, "Why haven't you read Emily Dickinson?", and so on. . . . And she went "well . . . rakkka, rakkka, rakkka."

Leonard and I were in the same corner in this particular argument. So finally I said, "Well, if you haven't read any of this, where did you learn alliteration?" and she said, "Saskatoon, Saskatoon." What can I say? Study her lyrics—*Song to a Seagull*—the way she takes a thematic system *Clouds* [Both Sides Now] has been written in the English language since Chaucer. That is to say, she calls it *Both Sides Now*. I call it *Clouds*—I say, "Dum dum—you've misnamed your poem."

Argus: How about Dylan?

Van Ronk: Like his namesake, he's run out of things to say, and unlike his namesake, he doesn't have the exquisite power to say it. His last album is very, very cold. Very dry. Where has his compassion gone? He has been co-opted by the Establishment—just because of a lack of a set of values to withstand the Establishment. Without an ideology of some sort—if you don't have some set of values, you have to absorb the Establishment's.

Dylan's totally incapable of being a phony, he's just totally spent. Take that interview in *Sing-Out*, which, by the way, should never have been done by John Cohen and Happy Traum. Where the hell has his compassion gone? He doesn't give a rat's ass about Hattie Carroll anymore. I mean, as Dylan said in his *Sing-Out* interview, how do you know he's not in favor of the Vietnam war? As I say, though he's totally incapable of being a hypocrite—he's even accused himself of being one. He was asked why he wrote his early stuff—he said because you had to write protest songs to be accepted. Bullshit—he wrote what he felt at that time and he meant, and he means the stuff he says now.

I don't like to think too much what I'm about, because then things get contrived.



# ELFAGLE

"Beware, you who think that the law can conquer men." — Patrick Pierce.

De Tocqueville wrote that the uniqueness of the American political system was that almost all political disputes end up in the courts. Certainly, looking at the situation in Ann Arbor, it is impossible to doubt that analysis. The Tenants Union, in preparing for the rent strike, has put almost as much effort into legal strategy as in organizing tenants. The bust of ten actors in "Dionysus in '69" is not only a question of artistic freedom and rights under the first Amendment, but really is part of the whole question of the power of some citizens of Ann Arbor to control the university community.

First, considering the rent strike, Judge Eldin has already interfered in the struggle between the tenants and the landlord by asking a probation officer to investigate the activity of two members of the Tenant Union Steering Committee. Barry Cohen and Ja-

net Handy are on probation for their activities in the September welfare sit-in. They were recently warned that their activity in the rent strike may cause their probation to be extended.

It is a probation violation to conspire to do an illegal act, as well as a criminal offense, but the Washtenaw Prosecuting Attorney's Office has said that it is not conducting an investigation in the possibility of criminal conspiracy in regard to the rent strike. It seems out of hand for a district judge to collaterally investigate through the probation department.

Such action is to be expected. A rent strike against the major landlord in the city has the potential not only to upset the landlord, but to interfere with the local banks. The banks are closely tied to the landlord as a result of large mortgages on much of the property in Ann Arbor. The legal structure of any town is closely related to the banks. No one should expect that the local courts are going to be at



Koeeoaddi There:

Writing in a real newspaper \*\*\*what an incredible ego trip! Not only can I say whatever I feel like to a whole bunch of people some I don't even know but I can even gain revenge on any assholes. [Massa Marty: Remember all those bogue things you did to me?] Ahhh \*\*\*finally I get to turn all of Ann Arbor on to Hubba Wonk. This nice person Freezer Red who was a member of the OD family, [so named after a guy

who called up University Hospital one night while tripping and said: "I have just taken an overdose of LSD and I am going to die."] Anyhow Freezer was up in the attic and the OD family said how does it feel up there Freezer and his tripped out mind just said Hubba Wonk!!! This wonderful word can be used at any moment in spiritual temporal existance.

OD also had this theory that all cops are really insects and they have no necks so that's why they wear such high collars. They don't have homes but go hang upside down at night in these little cubicles at the police station. There's this really freaky part about how they reproduce but I forgot how it goes. Did you know what happened at Canterbury House during the Theater of Cruelty episode? These guys were gonna kill a live chicken on stage and then pass out fried chicken to the audience. Crush them with the reality of it all, as it were. But some other people they said that you ain't gonna do none of that here man. Oh yeah! Yeah! So the pissed people were going out to buy chicken suits and toy guns or something and crash the play dressed as revolutionary chickens. If you can kill chickens,

Love and Happiness  
Puendall

all sympathetic to the tenants when the landlords start bringing eviction cases. But, Michigan's new tenant law does give those participating in the rent strike protection against summary eviction if there are questions of fact or legal defenses which tenants can raise.

Second example. The Ann Arbor Police Department did not bother itself when members of the cast in "Mарат/Sade" or the Living Theatre took off their clothes. According to Police Chief Krasny, "those cases slipped past us." I wonder though, if the real reason wasn't that the police, or whoever makes decisions in this town, decided that it would be a good example to the university to bust an official university event.

Of course, the university led by President Fleming, ran away from defending the Performance Group. The actors even ended up providing their own bail. Richard Schechner had asked the audience who stayed after the play to support the company by coming to the court the next day.

Schechner understood that it would be possible to influence the court, and perhaps, get the charges dropped, if the police and prosecutor saw the actors had support. Don't kid yourself, judges and prosecutors are influenced by a large crowd in the courtroom. But, only about 25 people showed up. Hopefully, the students at the University will realize that the legal battle of the actors is really their battle.

The Michigan Daily chose to overlook this fact. While Peter Darrow, who is defending the actors, was dealing with Prosecutor Delhey for low bail and a minor charge, the Daily came out with an extra with a picture of the troupe supposedly nude. Delhey could not possibly drop the charges after that. His back was up against the wall once the good voters of the country saw the picture.

The primary interest of the University administration was to make sure that the arrests occurred without any violence. Well, the cops here are efficient. Chief Krasny conferred during the play with Charles Joiner, who is Dean of the Wayne State Law School. When Dean Joiner was asked to comment on his role and what he thought

about the civil liberties issue, he refused comment.

The police arrested the actors even though they are not even going to try the cast for putting on an obscene play. They knew that it would be impossible to show that the play wasn't protected by the Supreme Court standard dealing with "indecent exposure", a charge usually associated with those who dig educating little girls in the park, the prosecution hopes to avoid the issue of community standards and "appeal to one's prurient interest." The prosecution will probably argue that the act of showing oneself nude in a public place is all that is necessary for the crime. One defense is to deny that the cast was nude and the cast may ask the courts' permission to put the play on during the trial, that, at least, will guarantee a full court house.

One sign of hope for the future is that some young lawyers and law students realize that the power structure can be confronted in the courts. About 50 lawyers and law students met at the University of Michigan over the weekend of February 1 for a conference sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild. Max Dean, who has been practicing law for over 20 years, put the problem in simple terms, "Lawyers must believe in a class analysis of society and identify with the international proletariat."

Ken Cloke, who has worked closely with SDS and is now working on a book concerning the use of the legal system for repression, concluded that a revolutionary attitude toward law is: Law is Illegal.

Law is a function of power. Civil disobedience is not a revolutionary act because it is an appeal to the courts for "justice," and thus, recognizes the power of the courts. The refusal to recognize the authority of the courts is revolutionary. In these terms, very few people act as revolutionaries in regard to the law. Eldridge Cleaver

has, perhaps, been forced into such an act. What radicals are doing in using the courts to publicize and confront the system. The Panthers have recognized the power of the courts and law, and understand that they must be adept at the process.

continued on page 18

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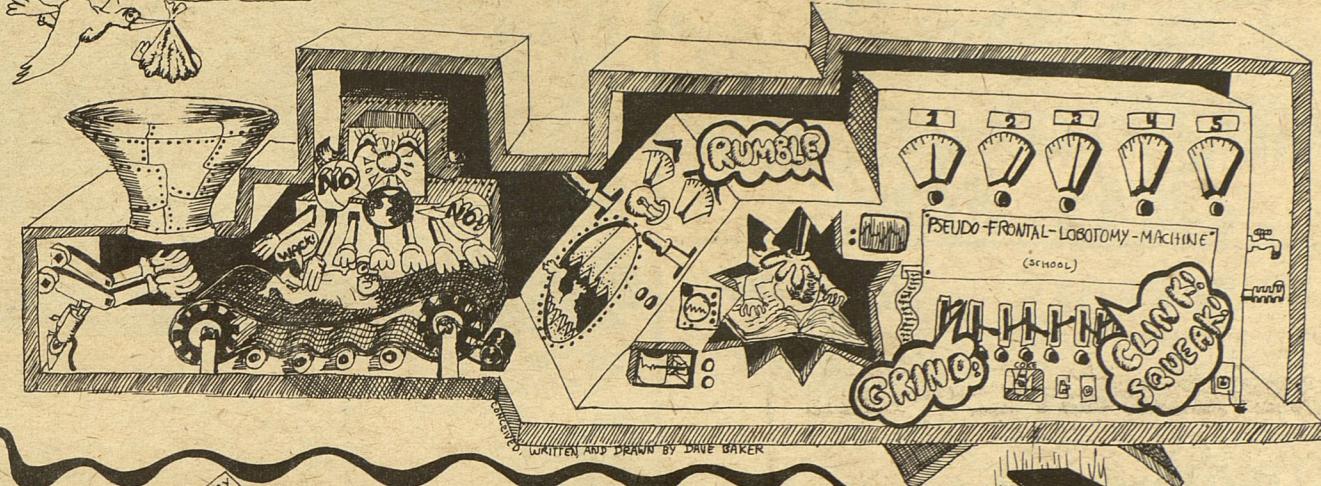
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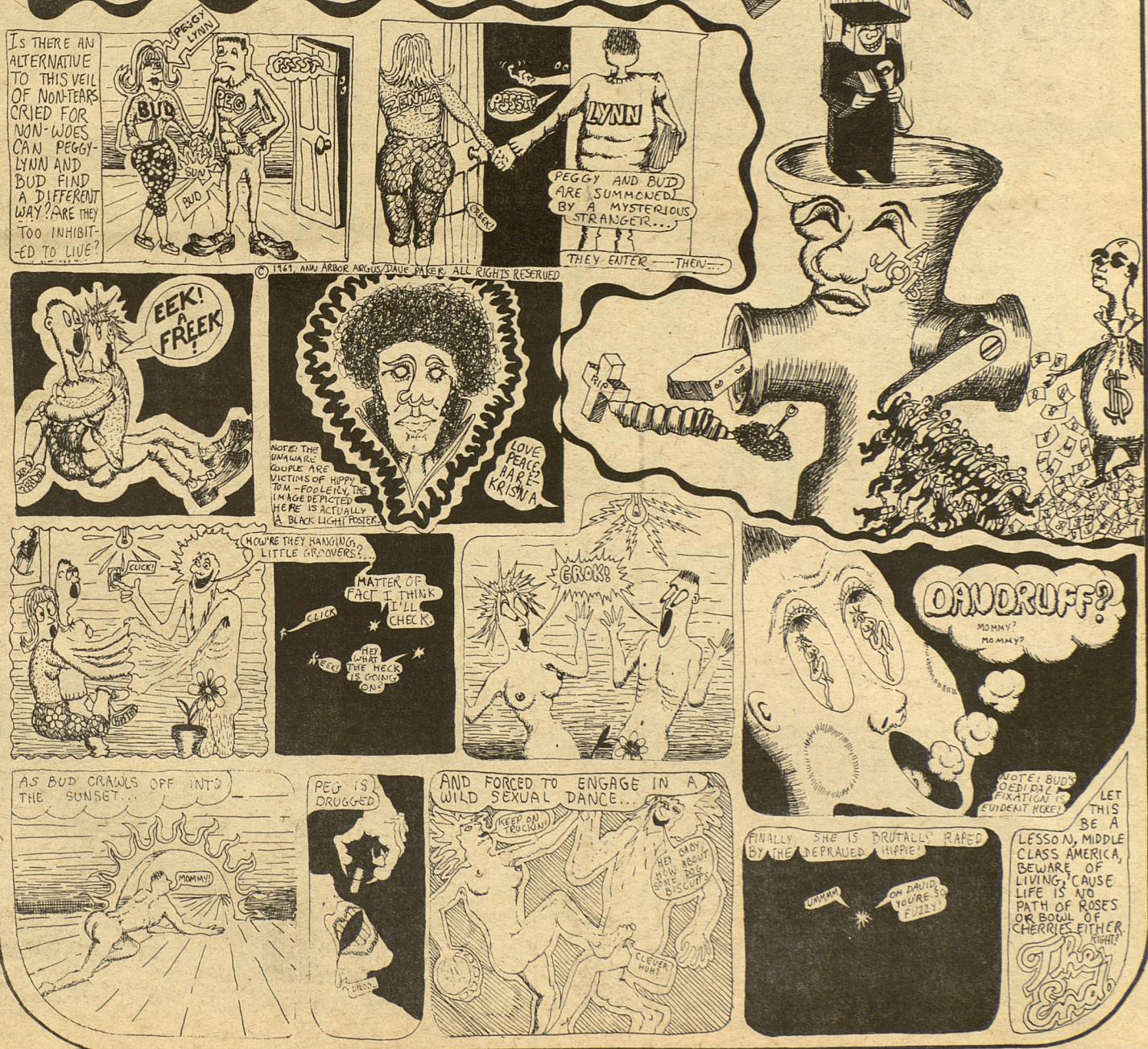
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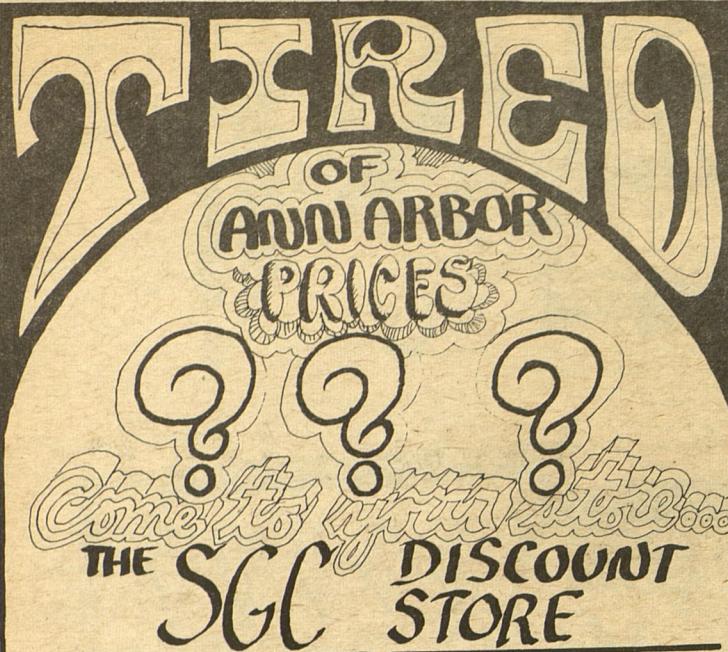
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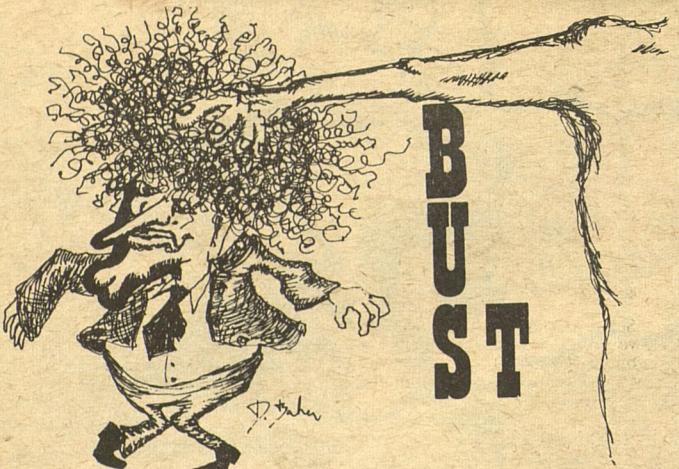
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[The author of the article knows of whence she speaks, having very recently discovered such pleasantries.]

by Georgia Peach

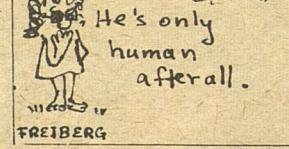
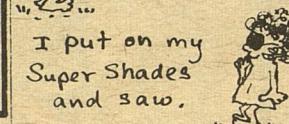
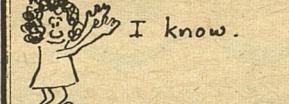
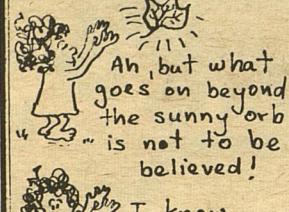
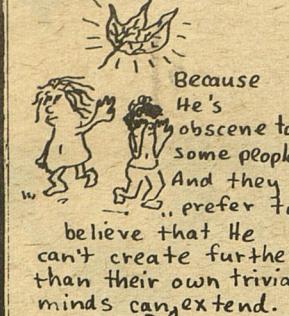
A bust—the reality paranoia freaks' rap; an absurdity of the sixties, and the seventies, and the...

Ha, ha! The poor pigs are going to be sorry they tried their bust in this apartment. With no dope what can they possibly get upset about? Surprise young innocent, there are bars in your window for the night. In all the high school books there are things about arrests that seem so basic—police inform you if you are under arrest, they tell you why, and certainly, if they search your apartment, they will present a warrant. Bullshit!!

The whole idiot episode started with a jam session in my apartment—which the newspapers later intimated was a well-known narcotics “casino” much to the amazement of both my parents and myself. All of the sudden the whole place was crawling with cops; “Hi, we’re the neighborhood fuzz, and we are going to ream you out.” They couldn’t find a damn thing which apparently upset them a great deal. Something about ego compensation and sadism I’ve been told. We ended up at the 1300 Beaubien dungeons. The super heroes apparently deserve more credit than I’ve ever given them. They were able to find things I didn’t even have. Don’t let anybody fool you, even if there is no evidence on you, some will mysteriously appear, and then—cold bars and lumpy mattresses. Hoorah for the cops, they got another dirty hippy. By the way, aren’t they supposed to let you make a phone call? That privilege took about three days. I also used to hear about being innocent until proven guilty.

As hard as I am trying to retain some faith in my native land, I was forced to accept the reality that law books should be taken as seriously as a political convention. Go ahead, get busted, quote laws, statutes, anything you want, even the Constitution, see how long it takes for the cell door to close.

## hortation



FREIBERG

THE CASE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS—  
Hear Rhody McCoy, embattled administrator of ocean-hill/brownsville experimental school district in Brooklyn8:00, Michigan Union Ballroom  
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## CIRCUS

continued from page 3

may have been some intelligent discussion at some point, but it was lost—at least in my mind—in the shouts and screams that surrounded it. The storm of emotion raged for about forty minutes, then it burned out. People started walking out after the first few minutes and by the end, less than half the original number were left. Clearly, most of the people came to listen, not to speak [just as the University teachers]. Most of those who spoke were angry and bitter; those who kept silent or left were probably also angry and bitter, but were afraid—or didn’t know how—to express it.

The Deans stayed to talk quietly with small clusters of students, but by the end, most were gone. I went upstairs to listen to Carl Oglesby for a few more minutes, but I was tired and depressed and soon left for home.

I learned a lot in that Ballroom Sunday night. It was a brutal scene, it was a bitter scene, but I don’t think it was a bad scene. When people start screaming “Burn this mother-fucking University to the ground!” or “The only good administrator is a dead administrator!” it’s easy to get hung on the viciousness of the words and forget what they’re really doing: screaming. Something’s been hurting bad for a long time and now they’re screaming. And I don’t even want to tell them to shut up.

It’s not the Deans that hurt them, it’s not even this University...there’s far too much pain for that. It’s this whole goddamn society. And don’t kid yourself, it’s not just the Leftists and the Blacks and the Poor that hurt [though the Blacks and the Poor may hurt a hell of a lot more]; your parents are hurting [listen to “Tears of Rage” on Big Pink]; the honkies in the suburbs are hurting and you damn well know that your friends are hurting.

This is where Oglesby comes in again. In that first session, he talked about how he had been an Existentialist. Man, everybody’s read Camus and heard about Satre and knows that Man suffers that “angst” because that’s the nature of Man. Bullshit, just bullshit. Dispair is easy to live with. Try making it with hope.

A lot of people in that Ballroom were at about the same place in their heads, feeling the same things fearing the same things. When it was over they all went home one by one, or two by two, to smoke dope or screw or rap about the stupid Deans. But basically alone and knowing no answers.

Okay. We all know answers aren’t easy. But our Brothers and Sisters were there, too, last night and we better get together and start working. Either that or we’ll kill, be killed, go insane, or go to work for Boeing.

I learned a lot in that ballroom Sunday night. It was a brutal scene, a bitter scene, but I don’t think it was a bad scene. When people start screaming “Burn this mother-fucking university to the ground!” or “The only good administrator is a dead administrator!” it’s easy to get hung on the viciousness of the words and forget what they’re really doing: screaming. Something’s been hurting bad for a long time and finally they started screaming. I didn’t feel like telling anybody to shut up.

There weren’t any answers in the Ballroom, but some things were pretty clear. People are learning how to get out from under authoritarian structures, but they don’t know how to function effectively once there [the “open space” after the guerilla theater and the barrage of hostility that filled it]. People know how to put down Deans [and each other], but not how to communicate or work together.

Perhaps more “open space” is needed, so people can learn to work within it...space enough for the angry voices to get the anger out, space enough for the thoughtful voices to work the problems out.

It was clear that most of the people in the Ballroom considered it impossible to grow freely and responsibly within the University structure. But most of the discussion and comments were not directed to this problem or to possible alternatives. Most of it was just emotional release. The competitive spirit that distorts and perverts creativity in the classroom is crippling the efforts of the very people who are trying to do away with it. Cooperation—not competition—is needed. We all know it, but we’ve got to learn it. And we’ve got to learn it before the hard rains fall.

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# Richard Schechner-

## “a time to be born, a time to die...”

[Editor's note: As everybody on the face of the earth and the air knows by now, the Performance Group, directed by Richard Schechner [who is also editor of The Drama Review], was busted for indecent exposure during their performance of "Dionysus in '69" at the Michigan Union ballroom a couple Sundays ago. The case comes up March 12. In this Argus interview, Schechner and Performance Group member Joan MacIntosh rap about the new emerging theatre, as well as anything else that crossed their minds.]

**Argus:** First thing, I guess, are you coming back to Ann Arbor to pursue this thing?

**Schechner:** I don't know if I personally will be back. I wasn't arrested, but the people who were arrested will be back. We're not going to let this thing drop. I said to the Daily Michigan that there are a number of ways to pursue this; not only in the courts, but in our heads, our hearts, the campuses, and the streets. I'd like to see the courts change what they did, but I'd like to see the change be *de facto* rather than *de jure*.

**Argus:** Why did you perform in Detroit fully clothed?

**Schechner:** Well, there are lots of reasons why we performed in Detroit fully clothed. I imagine that this will come out in the testimony. We arrived in Detroit about 5:30-6:00. We had a very bad plane trip and got to a theatre that hadn't been open for more than a year. There were a lot of rats in it, it wasn't heated, it was dirty, it was swarming with heat—the other kind of heat.

**Argus:** Thirty-five of them weren't there?

**Schechner:** I don't know how many there were, some in plain clothes, some in uniforms. We couldn't locate the girl who had the license to operate the theatre. We didn't know if we were going to go on or not. We were really hard up for bread and we weren't under contract so we decided to only take the box office from that show and we were going to lose money. We hadn't had a chance to rehearse. A large part of the audience had come just to see skin, and we don't like to perform for that kind of audience. The police were pretty obnoxious and so were the newspapers.

**Argus:** You mean the Detroit Free Press and the Detroit News.

**Schechner:** The Free Press wasn't as bad as the News. **Argus:** The headline in the Free Press after the bust in Ann Arbor read something along the line of "Ten Naked Actors Arrested in Skin Show".

**Schechner:** I took a page out of the guerilla book. This was neither the time nor the place. So we were compromising our artistic intentions but there were other things there that were compromising our intentions too. By in large though the audience was really groovy in Detroit and I thought that it was a pretty good show. It was more or less the only proletarian audience that we've had. Now by proletarian I think we should re-de-

fine what we are talking about. I mean the young non-student population who is not looking for a career. Many are artists but not necessarily looking to be professional artists. They're not industrial workers. They're probably unique to this and other industrial cultures. You can't say that they're hippies in the hippy sense or to use an earlier term, they're not beatniks in the beat era. They are a whole new kind of thing—very tough, politically minded, but different from the people you find on campus. They're not as sentimental. Just a few steps away from being revolutionaries.

**Argus:** What was the situation in Minnesota?

**Schechner:** Minnesota was a bizarre situation because the students of the University and the administration of the University, that we met, that is the director of the Student Union or the advisor of the Student Union, a Mr. Siggelkow. He just wanted us out. The student board was really scared. We poled them. They said they would have been shocked if we had gotten undressed. They didn't know exactly why we were playing there, they didn't want us very much. They had not done any good publicity. They had first booked us into St. Paul instead of Minneapolis. They're twin cities but Minneapolis is a better place to play than St. Paul. They were very, very uptight and when we finally only drew 200 people, we told them we agreed to perform dressed the first night at the University and then I was given quite a shock. I asked those students and they said they would be shocked if they'd seen naked bodies—and I'm not interested in having "Dionysus" be a shock troupe action, that's not what it is—but I went downstairs where they had posted our posters which they had made reasonably attractive and they were talking all about this nudity thing. And then right next to the posters, in the same panel, was an advertisement for a week long seminar which was going on in the afternoons in the same place where we were to perform.

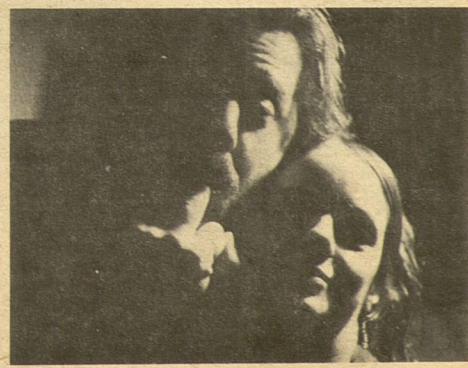
This was called "The Wide World of Sex". "The Wide World of Sex" had four programs, two on homosexuality, one on venereal disease, and one on birth control. I have nothing against homosexuality and I think birth control is an essential thing; I don't particularly

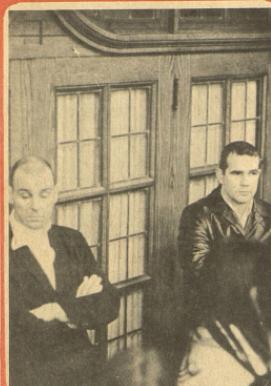
support venereal disease, even among your local police, but those things taken together don't comprise the "wide world of sex". There's nothing on interpersonal relations, there's nothing on lovemaking, there's nothing on fucking. Worse than that were illustrations in full color photographs right next to our thing. These were of syphilitic faces and penises and vaginas and breasts. They were truly obscene photographs and if this was their exposure and those students were embarrassed and shocked to see a naked body, and if one girl said she had never seen a naked body, and if this was the first body she would ever see—this full color photograph [and I assume the lectures would be replete with more] then the girl would obviously be physically ruined because the people who prepared the program were obviously psychically ruined to show these blasted sexual organs. It was absolutely disgusting. It was fight propaganda. Well, I knew then that the University of Minnesota, at least the students who controlled the Student Union and their advisors, were pathological and I find a great deal of pathology in the Midwest, I find it in the East too but it's a peculiar type of sexual uptightness in the Midwest, a kind of suppressed violence. I call it the Charlie Stockweather complex. I don't know if you remember who Charlie Stockweather was. He was a nice Oklahoma boy who shot his way up through the Midwest from Oklahoma to Utah. I think he knocked off eighteen people. You know he would go into a gas station and shoot people. He was described as a quiet, well behaved, God-fearing young man who went on a rampage. You know, the original *In Cold Blood*. Died from the Texas Tower, obviously a nut. But the kind of a nut that I feel there may be five or six or ten million of them directly walking around that haven't shot yet. You find them in the Police and the military and so on and probably 70-80 million close to nuts, pathological cases, because they're the products of repression and suppression. This type of feeling I felt very real on the University of Minnesota campus. The faculty that I know best is afraid of new ideas. I gave a lecture and the faculty wouldn't even come.

Students came but the faculty didn't. It wasn't to well announced but... I talked to one faculty member about five minutes before, who heads a program there and he didn't show up to hear it. The lecture was about our performance, new theatre, and so on. So we performed downtown in Minneapolis the second night. After we performed two members of the audience got undressed. You know, we did encourage them to get undressed. We did agree not to get undressed but we didn't agree to police the audience.

I won't reveal the identity of the people who got undressed because it could be bad for them. One of the girls was not a student. She was very young, and I find

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEIL MONTONE





young girls very, very grossly. She was still in high school, and I don't even know if that was criminal. So I asked her, "What do you think?" The teacher asked her for what—corrupting the morals of a minor? The younger people are much less uptight than the older people. Mr. Siegelkow and those people really got very upset. They were very upset. They were very upset. They were the guys in the state legislature who are really cracking down on them. I don't know if it's as true as they say that the legislature is cracking down on them. Between the state legislature, you know we don't mind you, but the legislature will crack down and the legislature saying we don't mind you, but they're you can't do this. So there's a lot of pressure on the uptightness and passing the buck around among the big

Argus: What did you think of our last game, Sam Bursley's comment that he said it was a very good game, Sam? Schenkel: He's obviously highly minded. Well since then he has changed his opinion. But he is a very good player, he has been in his opinion. But back in Minnesota they were very anxious to have us not perform. They thought they had achieved a great deal by buying us out and that's what they did. They wanted us to perform for money. If you pay us our money we will go away. Nine hundred bucks. We would not have made so much off it, and we would not have made anything off it. The atmosphere was wrong. The atmosphere was wrong. The atmosphere was wrong. In addition to all that, I wanted to play out their game. They wanted to buy and so we

would sell.

"We went downtown and we knew people in Minneapolis very well, the Firehouse Theatre, and Sid Walters and Marlowe Hotchkiss, and that whole group, we were staying with them and they gave us their theatre, so we performed twice there. We were going to perform again, but they had to go and an extra night, so both nights were sold out houses. And on the time the Mayor was there and he enjoyed it. We were into a different situation in Minneapolis. Minneapolis itself is a city and a fairly cosmopolitan city, in which there had been a number of named performances with no difficulties because they're a pretty cosmopolitan city. The university represents the outlying districts of the state and is pretty conservative, very opposite to what

The university represents the country districts of the state and is pretty conservative, very opposite to what goes on here.

Argus: Did you perform naked at the Firehouse Theatre?

Schechner: Oh sure, and I think those were our two best performances on tour, basically because the space in the theatre is the same as our theatre in New York, though the performance that we did here was quite good, given the space and the one in Colorado Springs was more exciting than the one we did here because

those kids are younger. They're not from college, although some are undergraduate, not very sophisticated and very rich, and yet they're very hip. When they go going, they really got going. It was more of a community than the college was here, although the college here was much more sophisticated. So that each audience was different and the Firehouse was quite a bit like the audience we get in New York.

Schechner: Well, it's very hard for me to separate. I'm always operating ideologically and personally and commercially, and I mean I've said a lot of times I'd like to believe in purity, but I'm not a particularly pure person, and I don't know anybody that's really pure. So let's

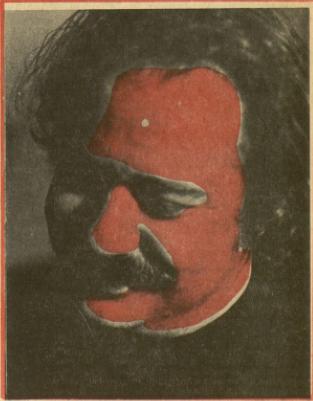
radical and radicalized. It'd be a good point to radical we had to be on. Because it's just the effect of that, for me just wasn't in New York City, because people are so much more sophisticated, or they pretend to be sophisticated, to be up on everything, you know, to be cool about everything. Except for the students, the students that we have are very largely jaded. You know, Schechner: The audience that we have are relative values. What would not be particularly upsetting in New York could be very disturbing in Colorado. That's just the way things are.

And when we came out here, we really realized, I mean I realized once again that for better or worse, this center part of the country, the part of the country that really to me is highways and trucks and flat land basically, and strong people strong, physically strong people, military bases, and further west the flat land gives way to the mountains and there's a kind of quality there, but particularly those heavy trucks moving and the mechanically many of it, you know, which is both frightening and terrible and beautiful, that really is the heartland of

That for better or worse, you know, California, New York, the east coast and the west coast could disappear, and the world would still stand. The midwest is really the quiet frontier of the United States. The revolution is to take place in this country, it will have to take the midwest into account. It will have to occur here, almost immediately, because the people here are the ones that have split off from here. People leave here to go there, and those places are more radical, but the turnover will have to be here. I think that's the only place in America I realized that there could be no Latin American revolution that excluded Brazil, because it's just the center of the continent. And, you know, there's a kind of geo-politics of Latin America. There can be no revolution that excludes Germany, there can be no American revolution without Germany.

in the street thing. And you also did it with little tunics on the stage. I think that was a good idea. I think it's Schenker. I want to answer that and I want to look at that too. Because I want to answer it if I'm director's point of view, and I'd like her to talk from a performer's point of view. I think that's what I'm going to play from the end of the ecstasy to the kill. Because that was kind of the umbrella of the play and it wasn't really a kill. It was a killing. It was a killing when the palace is shaken by earthquake and Dionysus escapes it doesn't make sense to us. It's the human condition. The presence of Pentheus in women's clothes and after a certain point in the human trip I decided to restructure it and somehow put into shape that center section. Which also meant to put the group together. And I think that's what I'm going to do because we had been apart for six weeks—more, for three months. Six weeks of performance and then six weeks of break. And I think that's what I'm going to do on those center sections to drop out the pseudopara-dramatic sections which really didn't work. We had to deal with problems of authenticity to make out of the characters what they were. And I think that's what I did that work. Jerry Grotowski came to the United States to finish editing the video tape of "Acropolis" and he came to see our play. Afterward I spoke with him, as I had with Schenker, and he said four words to me: "The costumes had been something we had used early in June and through the summer and I remember now why we used them. They were not good." I said, "Thank you." I remember two things distinctly and this shows some of my development too, because I've been changing. I said well, you can see the men naked, but I can't see the women naked. And he said, "Yes, but when you see the legs spread like that, it is even in my terms an obscene kind of thing which couldn't be." That is what I said in June. And I think that's open to you. If you're re-  
sitting it front or back that's what you see. Without seeing it front or back that would be so shocking and it even shocked me, that we couldn't show it publicly and it would be humanly impossible. I think that's what I'm going to probably agree. And so we developed the tunics, a

ciphers and heraldry, and that way we don't have to be erotic in the conventional sense. And so similarly with the death of the nakedness, and that's another thing that's important to me. And finally to the death dance, rather than what we used to do was go out and caress and kiss the audience, at that part it's much more like a death dance, and that's another reason than go out and just kiss them and that sudden shock. So I think the performance has been much deeper, especially with nakedness, and about the costumes in the beginning is an important point: I really think that as a group we weren't ready, I wasn't ready, to be totally accepted by the women, and we were not accepted when we opened in June. Let alone know what nakedness was about. And I can remember during the show over and over again I'd think, "I'm not accepted." First of all we had discussions about how do we do the birth ritual. It was suggested to be topless. And I didn't want to do that. I didn't want to be topless. And I guess things that I didn't want to be a part of, and I guess that wasn't fair, it was a really resilient organ. So this was kind of like a death of the nakedness, and that was sort of what it was, that this was a thing like penis is a thing; it got a certain weight and heft; it's not always erect. You see, a man is not aware of his penis when he's not erect, it's very, very functional if he's unerect, but too but he's not aware of his unerect penis when it can move freely, and that's another reason why I think it's important. Look, everyone is going to look at my penis. Because it's moving. Of course, why? Because it moves. And it's freely like, that why not? And I think it's because we were not accepted to because that's not the condition in which the penis is accepted. It's accepted with in boxer shorts, jockey shorts—or as erection that is an erection, and that's not what I'm talking about here. It's not acceptable, but to just jog around and have the penis bounce up and down, is not acceptable. And so the dance—let's say that the birth of the woman and the birth of the man, and that's another veiling and potentiallyunnecessary situations. And therefore I think artistically valid because in the nature



of our work, unmasking is one of the things we're really about.

**Argus:** Do you want to add anything to that, Joan?

**Joan:** Just that it's a continual, ah, struggle every night. In the meditation, I have to—part of my meditation includes not, ah, keeping my eyes closed or glassy, you know, when we're doing the Ecstasy, to keep my eyes open and to continue to take risks—either moving off the mats and going into the audience and being fully aware of the fact that they're dressed and I'm not. Or, you know, looking, using my eyes as well as my body and because, because, even as we do it more and it gets—it, it could tend to get very easy to do, and very easy in a way that the meaning of, of nakedness would be lost. And so every night I still have to—that's part of my score to go over that in my mind.

**Argus:** As you may know, Living Theatre—I think I told you this before—Living Theatre was here, played the same ballroom with Paradise Now, you know, which incorporated very much nakedness. One of your actors, Bill Finley, the guy that played Dionysus, made a statement that the Living Theatre is brains of the movement, and Performance Group is the body of the movement. Can you rap about that?

**Schechner:** NO, I don't think that's true. That assumes that the movement is one thing, and there's only room for one brain, one body, two eyes—I reject that kind of analogy, which is...cute. And not at all accurate. I believe it's stupid. And—and I don't think Finley really meant it... We developed fairly independently of the Living Theatre—in other words Living Theatre was away, it didn't come back until after we were pretty well on our way. They've had some specific effect on—on our, on this particular performance—namely, the Dance of Bacchus, which is kind of the same in *Antigone* and Performance Group. Not the same, but it has certain similarities to it, and—and I was very moved by their *Antigone*, and I think many of us were very moved by the—by many things the Living Theatre did, though I think that they are sloppy in some of the

things they do, but then, so are we.

I look at the Living Theatre as a kind of, people that can see the Promised Land but will never be able to enter into it. For a variety of reasons. The great difficulty of being a continuing traveling troupe, the difficulty of being stateless, without really being utopian, the difficulty of playing outside your language areas, so that they, they have developed a terrific sense of non-verbal theatre, but neither am I interested in a—a kind of ballet. Because verbal language has qualities that body language can't have—in terms of conceptual subtlety, for example. The body can be conceptually very subtle and that is a non-verbal language that's very interesting. But let's say that non-verbal language is still to be developed, and verbal language has been developed. That non-verbal language, to convey the same nuances that verbal languages convey conceptually—not emotionally—would take longer time. Verbal language is more economical. One can't say, as some people have, that verbal language is unnatural—I mean every culture that we have any record of—have ever known—uses it. What we have to distinguish and what I'm interested in is the oral tradition is still song, still language you see—and I think theatre is part of the oral tradition. I don't think that the Performance Group is either brains nor—nor body of the movement; I think that's presumptuous on our part. We are part of a movement—because we've only been around for a little more than a year; we've only done one performance. And it's absolute presumption for any theatre that's done one performance an is less than a year old to...

**Joan:** We are a year old.

**Schechner:** A little more than a year old, rather—to, ah, you know, to make claims. I still think that we're potentially very good. And to identify the movement more completely, of which we are a part, though not an equivalent part, you know there's Peter Brook and Royal Shakespeare Company, there's the Becks and the Living Theatre, there's Jerzy Grotowski and the Polish Lab Theatre, and so on. There are about fifteen or twenty groups around the world, I imagine, that are working in environmental theatre, the exploration of space, audience participation, the interpenetration between social life and artistic life, re-actualization of ritual, and so on. You know that the categories that I'm talking about. I think to a large degree the Living Theatre is so honored, because they are remorseless in their—their ability not to compromise, which is beautiful, because the Becks are the oldest chronologically—aside from maybe Peter Brook, but he's not an American, and he does work within the Royal Shakespeare structure—the oldest people in the movement, and many people have worked with them.

And because they've been out of the country and they've come back and that's worth a celebration. I would say that their work itself is extraordinarily interesting—Paradise Now is a terrific experience, and an evocative experience. Let's say that the Performance Group is more interested now in structured experiences and provocative experiences to a certain degree. The

Living Theatre with Paradise Now is evocative? in other words it is a screen on which the audience at certain times has a chance to project itself. This is both good and dangerous, to a certain degree, because I think that—I would agree with John Cage that every man is an artist, and I don't think that an improvised art is by and large as interesting as a worked-out art. For the same reason that for some reason or another I prefer professional football to sandlot football, in terms of watching with it, and grooving with it—now, this may be a basic theoretical disagreement that I have with the Becks. And some other people. I found Paradise Now extraordinarily interesting; I don't know if I'd want to see it four or five times—and what I found interesting, was that the audience would react in so many ways—it was much closer to a sociological evocation of that

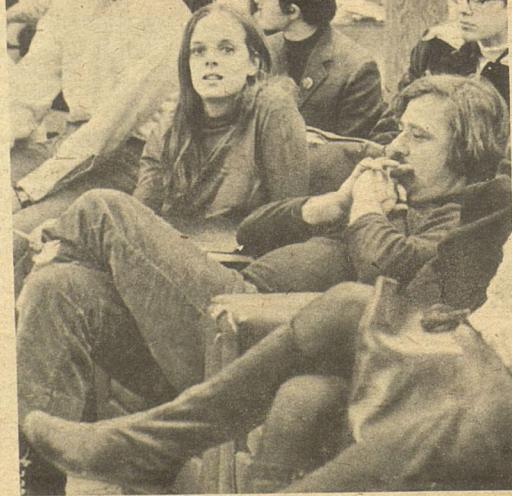


audience than an artwork as I understand an artwork—and my definitions of artwork are becoming broader and broader and broader, but to a certain degree an artwork still for me must be a prism, in other words, it must focus certain things and refract certain things, rather than simply be an arena in which things happen. That's why I'd be more prone to call the march on the Pentagon to be a form of environmental theater and artwork than certain performances of Paradise Now. Which is—the march on the Pentagon has a certain structure, in which certain things were clearly revealed—you know about the soldiers, the McNamaras and the power structure and the people who were opposing them, while Paradise Now can be inauthentic—in other words, not so much for the Becks and their troupe, but for the audience—a person can get off cheap. And I agree with Grotowski, that great art is expensive. You know, the Aeschylan thing, wisdom through suffering—that you can't just do it easy, and I think a lot of the people that go to the Living Theater get it easy. The Living Theater has a quality of easiness about it that makes me uneasy. The notion of their kind of being a comet, something passing through, you know, that causes a great stir as they pass through and gets one quite excited—but you don't have the sense that they're ever going to stop. They're passing through. In other words even a guerrilla war, even a Che Guevara kind of situation says that at a certain point, when you feel you've mobilized your troops, you stop and fight because you want to take power. And I think the Becks have gotten a little too much in the habit of continually moving—causing a scandal or a stir or something of a temporary uprising, and then going away, and not having a home base in which they will stop and fight.

**Argus:** But don't you think the spinoff created by, you know, by their just appearing and, you know, and a lot of people are liberated by their various stops...

**Schechner:** I don't know—liberation is a long process.

**Argus:** It is, but it has to start somewhere.



Schechner: Of course. It started before they got there.

**Argus:** Well...

Schechner: I'll see if people are liberated by their actions five years after their actions. So in other words of course they're a contributing factor and of course that's very good. But then we get into the whole function of art. Who has more spinoff—you know, and how long is the long run—I mean who has more spinoff—somebody like Shakespeare, against, from whom things continue to spin for a long time. Or something in which the spinoff yield is immediate, you know more immediate. I don't know, I have—as I say, I have great love for Julian and Judith, great admiration for people like Steven, Ben, Israel and other members of the company. And I think they're dealing with an art form in which they spend a great deal. What I'm concerned about is not their spending, but that the audiences who come to see them, to participate, who get off cheap. They don't get off cheap; the Living Theater doesn't get off cheap. And their triumph is their tragedy. I mean, their tragedy is the fact that they have no place in which they can stop and build their energy sources. But I think that their audience gets off cheap. That they let their audience off a little cheap. And that there's a very deep American Sentimentality—like with all American revolutionaries. I feel that Americans who want to be revolutionaries at least in language—but they're not willing to pay the price of what a revolution is I mean that's one of the themes of Dionysus—you can have your revolution, but there's gonna be blood. And then, when you're all finished, it may not be particularly what you wanted anyway. You don't know about that. Until it's over. And that we are—we're kind of drawn into the whole packaging situation; where things are easy, and the audiences I've seen at the Living Theater have gotten their kicks much too easily. And paid for them.

**Joan:** I just wanted to give an example of that. A benefit for the Radical Theater at the Filmore East this fall...

**Argus:** I was there.

**Joan:** You were there—well, the interesting thing to me was that throughout the whole evening there was a very—there was a lot of screaming from the Motherfuckers, there was a lot of radical talk, and yelling—a lot of emotionality, and then when the Living Theater did their piece about halfway through the evening—and liberated a space, and created their anarchy in the in-space, those very same people that had been screaming "Motherfucker!" and "Revolution!"—got up on stage and were like little children who were taking their first step. Which was beautiful, but at the same time it was a very ironic thing when they got up on stage, and no one knew what to say, no one knew what to do, and they were just milling and seething. And...

**Schechner:** It wasn't—oh...

**Joan:** Go ahead...

**Schechner:** It wasn't beautiful to me at all. It wasn't like a little child taking his first step to me. It was, you know, a demonstration of the corruption of the—that branch of the American radical movement. It was—The Filmore East was like Columbia; in other words the space was liberated but nobody had any program. And I'm not the kind of revolutionary radical that thinks that the—you know, liberated space has gotta have a program. To sit in the president of Columbia's chair and smoke a cigar is bullshit—you gonna take over the president's office, the first thing you do is call in your senior professors and take away their tenure. And then you contact your board of trustees and say that they're no longer in office. And—so that the cops will move in much more swiftly, cause you've really made a threat to their power. But as long as you occupy the administration offices, you administer, you minister according to a program which begins to really restructure the institution and sets up a model of the way you would do it if you would have it, and as long as you have it you do it that way—in other words you start issuing checks and things, see who accepts your checks and who doesn't accept your checks.

You don't sit there and smoke a cigar, which is worse than infantile; it would be all right for a six year old, but it's not very all right for twenty year olds. So if you liberate—that's a bad word—if you take over and occupy the Filmore East, then you'd better have a program—what are you gonna do with the Filmore East, who are you gonna bring in, are you gonna have people come in free, and so on—you don't just mill around.

That's what I mean by cheap revolution. Since they didn't pay anything—I don't mean money—since they didn't pay any blood or anything for the Filmore East, they just—the Motherfuckers just shouted revolution while they were up on stage—all Bill Graham had to do was wait, cause they would recede, you see. And that to me is not a revolutionary act—that's a revolutionary symbolic gesture. It's not authentic to me, you see it doesn't impress me very much. It's not what the French students did, you know, who really took over and held on until they were betrayed, but at least the image remained—it seems to me those were revolutionary actions the students were taking. While our students with one hand say, "We want to be revolutionaries, and we're willing to fight for it"—and on the other hand say "We're just kids; now give us amnesty." And to prove we're just kids, when we come in here we're just gonna fool around like kids—we're gonna put lipstick on your walls, and it's gonna cost a couple of hundred dollars to clean up your building again, but you know—that's kind of like a panty raid. And that's not what it's about. What it's about is the restructuring of society and the redistribution of power in society. What it's about is a question of who's gonna be on the board of trustees, who's gonna determine university policy, it's about who's gonna perform in the theaters and what's the price gonna be. And finally it's about the defense budget, farm policy, domestic and foreign colonialism and imperialism, that's what it's about.

CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE!



"In a modern telecommunications society, the radio station is one of the real seats of authority; its seizure the seal of a successful revolution." —Red Flag, Black Flag: French Revolution 1968

I was just now talking with my friend Richard Stoneman about the subversiveness of what is so glibly called the "underground radio" scene. We listen to the radio consciously, i.e. we know what's being aired and we seek it out, and if the people who run the station aren't getting down then we call them up and tell them what's happening—and they listen to us, because they want to find out, for whatever reason. The customer's always right, if only on that level. But there are stations that are different, where subversives are at work, and they're in the business of turning people on to the cultural revolution in its various manifestations.

With these new radio people, their consideration is the people who are listening to them on the air, and they're starting to realize that they have an awful responsibility to those people because the people don't have any other major access to the natural facts—the real thing. They depend on the radio people to hip them to the whole cultural scene: the new records, the news of what's going down in the immediate community as well as around the global village, what's happening on the music scene, who's in town, and like that. The people want to know who got busted when, where, and how, they want to know where they can get free medical care, housing, food, entertainment, materials, energies, whatever—just the things that are important to them, as everyday reality. For those of us who read—a minority I'm sure—the newspaper [this newspaper] fills in the details and expands the context [visually too!] on a periodic basis, but the radio is on every minute and has that further possibility of absolute currency—the electric *right now!* And that's what we're trying to get at in our lives—the absolute quick of things, that will put us right on time and in the middle of the flow.

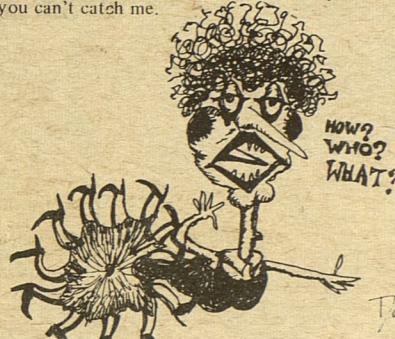
The radio—and in our particular instance I'm talking about WABX-FM, 99.5 in Detroit—the radio is beginning to respond very precisely and very accurately to our needs, and we can start growing as a community because of it. News gets around, as they say, and with the radio it gets right where it needs to go. A sense of community is based on adequate and

accurate communications between the people of the community, whatever its geographical specifications. Our culture has needed radio for a long time, and now we have it. Or at least we're in the process of getting it. But our own communications with the media have to improve, too, just as theirs have to, and are. When you know some news and want people to know it too, call the radio station and tell the people there what you know. Sometimes they might not listen to you, having heavy duties on their minds and shoulders, but I would say mostly that you'll find someone listening to you and spreading your word if you're after the good of the community and not some weirdo ego trip.

That's our radio, but you know we aren't the only ones listening to it. By virtue of its very definition radio reaches thousands and thousands of people who have only to turn on their receivers, which are standard gear now in most homes and automobiles. AM is next. Television is next. But with FM we have gone so much farther than with any of the print media—any of them. And we have the possibility of reaching lots of "neutral" people—people who wouldn't otherwise become exposed to our culture except thru crazed articles in the kept press of the greed culture. Hippies and all that bullshit, which doesn't do anybody any good. What we want is for these other people, just as ourselves, to *get the information now!* The real news, of *what's happening*. We want them to know, so they can change too. No one can act without the specific information that would make such action possible. Remember that. It doesn't do any good to come down on somebody for his ignorance—let him know what's happening and he'll at least have a chance to do the right thing. Without the information he can't.

The radio provides the information in a super-direct and very entertaining form so it can't be missed. If only the music. The radio subverts them, because they have not been taught to grant the music its rightful and complete legitimacy as a prime term in their lives. Straight people have been taught that they are complete entities, in complete control of their little lives, given a free will that permits them to choose what they want to effect them. They live in their heads and see the world thru their mind's eyes instead of the real eyes. The vision is clouded by what's been shoved into their heads, and what they "think" is always more important to them than what's actually happening in the world. They'll do anything to preserve their illusions. In fact, to me that's precisely what makes the difference between someone who's "straight" and someone who's down. Straight people have "made up their minds" as to what will happen to them, and their lives are then precisely regulated in terms of those decisions, in terms of what they "think" the world's all about. That's why they're so fucked up.

Actually, that's only "how" they're fucked up—why it's that way is something else. . . . People are the way they are because their economy demands it. In order to maintain a consumer economy like America's, the people in power have to keep a strict brainwash on the other people so they'll keep doing all the stupid things that are necessary to a consumer's scene. Information has to be strictly limited—you have power over someone when you control the information he receives. Huey P. Newton said that "Power is the ability to define phenomena and make them act in a desired manner." What he meant was that when you can define the terms of a situation then you have a great deal of control over the outcome. Socrates knew this. Aristotle knew this. Plato knew it. That's how they were the fathers of western culture, because they demonstrated their method of obtaining power for the white man, by defining the world in words and symbols and pushing their version on the other people by seizing control of the priest-educator functions and running the only show in town. Monopoly capitalism, meaning if I've got the bread or the arms of the power in whatever form I can not only gain control of your life but I can control the information. And you can't catch me.



Dave Johnson '68

That's just what they think. But then again, watch what they'll get for thinking. They should turn on and tune in to what's going down—they'd be a lot better off. I always feel better when I get off, don't you? Then you can take over.

Radio is really subversive as it acts on straight people because they *think* they're "just listening to the radio." As if the songs weren't coursing thru their cells! As if they couldn't hear our voices and our various energy constructs! As if this shit had no effect on them, the saviors of the western world! What a bunch of chomps! But then they don't know any better, *because they haven't had access to the information before* in any other media. They don't know any better, and the way they'll find out is by being exposed to the information. No matter how long it might take (it won't take long, and their kids already know), no matter how long, it's happening to them every second even if they don't think so. The music is fucking them right in their tracks, and they don't even think it has any effect on them. "Oh, yes, rock and roll. Hmmm. Where did I put the cat food. O dear." And off into the kitchen, with Jimi Hendrix blasting thru the radio walls. She never knew what hit her, but that weekend she went to a rock and roll dance and threw away her brassiere. No shit. I think it was the MC-5 that was playing, and she fucked the bass player between sets. The next week she quit her job and went to California. Hmmm. Did this really happen? Who do you know?

Listen to the radio now—turn on the FM while you're reading this and see what those cats are doing on the air. If they're bullshitting and shucking and jiving, call them up and tell them to get down. The numbers are 961-5675, and 961-8888. You know what you want to hear. And I'm not just talking about requests, I'm talking about revolutionary radio—media of the people, by the people, and for the people. If you don't know what you want tell them to do something else, you can't make what's going down right now and you want to hear something different so you can educate yourself. It's nice to hear what you know, but it's more fun to find out something new.

Radio should be done as a conscious educational tool, a weapon of cultural revolution, to turn people on and change them with energy and information so they can change their world. Every program should be an educational experience for all listeners. Radio is our cultural communications system, and we have to have the information. WE have to have the music—the strongest and purest music being made, all the time. We can't do without it, and we don't have to anymore. We have to have news of our brothers and sisters too, wherever they are, whatever they're doing, we have to know about it so we can grow with them and be them, so they can be us, so we will be united in knowledge and action. When the barricades go up in Paris or San Francisco or Columbia University, we have to know about it so we can spread the word in our communities and act on the information. When people get kidnapped by the police on phony dope busts and held for ransom we have to know so we can get them out on the streets again. We have to know this stuff, all the time. And the radio can do it.

The duty of the revolutionary media is to communicate the news of the revolution—to get the dope to the people who need the information, so they can act on it. As we start to define America for ourselves thru our brothers and spokesmen in the media—our media—we help create a situation in which the people who get our information start to act in the desired manner, i.e. in a revolutionary way. They start acting for themselves, moving to control their own lives—though not in any sense of limiting their lives, but simply FREEing themselves from the consumer prison.

As we begin to infiltrate and destroy the straight media and straight culture we start to set people free who have been trapped inside the pigpen with no information on how to get out. When people see that the newspaper comes out every two weeks, or that the music goes on no matter what, that our lives go on freaky as they are—then they know that they can do it too. They know they can get away with it. And that's precisely the information they need.

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# Jim Kwaskin

[Note: The following is an Argus interview with Jim Kwaskin and his friend, Richie Guerin.]

Argus: I suppose I'll start with the obvious things, like when and why the Jug Band broke up.

Kwaskin: The Jug Band broke up because... well, there were several reasons. For one thing I got tired of playing that music. But mostly, each member of the band was reaching a point where what they had to say musically needed to be said in different surroundings. It's like everybody was heading in different directions, and you couldn't hold it together any more. Billy Kieth was getting into pedal steel guitar—now he's playing with Ian and Sylvia, playing country music. Jeff and Maria were getting more into soul music—now they're making an album with horns and all—the whole Atlantic sound. Richard Greene was getting into jazz and rock electric fiddle more and more, and he joined a rock band in California—the Sea Train—a sort of half jazz, half rock electric band. And I was getting more and more into ballads and slower things, more and more out of the ragtime thing, and I couldn't go on that way any more.

Argus: What's Fritz Richmond doing now?

Kwaskin: It's pretty hard for a jug player to play, when there's no jug band. He's become a recording engineer in California, for Elektra. He's the only one that isn't playing right now.

Argus: Could you say something about the Lyman family?

Kwaskin: First of all, it consists of all people who live on the Fort Hill Community. There are several musicians, including Mel Lyman, who's the leader, Jesse Lyman, his wife, a fantastic singer, and Richie Guerin and me, played here, and Marilyn, my wife, and several other people, off and on. A piano player named Terry Bernhart. And the Lyman family can be any group from just me and Richie up through all of those people, or any 2, 3, 4, 5, or whatever. And Maria Muldaur sings with us a lot of times, too. And everytime we go to play anywhere, it's always different, and it's just inspirational. It just depends on what's happening.

Argus: I was wondering tonight if you felt antagonistic to the audience at the beginning.

Kwaskin: I felt lonely, I felt lonely and I felt hurt. It's not antagonistic so much as... I so much want people to become a part of what's happening and I want to become a part of them. I just love it to be able to do it with music, you know, just by playing music let it happen, and have it happen. And after playing 4 or 5 or 6 or 8 songs, you know, and trying, and somehow trying to do it with the music, and having it. After each song, it's like, the audience started talking, as if I had never played anything. It didn't seem to make any effect on them, or make any change in who they were. They listened, and when it was over, they were the same. And music, communication, should change people, it should have some effect, it should bring us closer together. Song after song after song, and no change happened, and finally I just got hurt inside. I felt lonely, so I had to express my loneliness verbally. And of course that started to make the change, and from there on, it got better. It never reached as high as it might, but it sure changed a lot after we talked, after I talked with the audience. See they were frustrated, and I was frustrated, and I mean it was just... that kind of togetherness, making that kind of change is a very hard thing. I wasn't antagonistic, I just wanted something more to happen. It was painful, I was in pain, that's all.

Argus: Ideally what would you like to bring the audience to?

Kwaskin: To a place where we're all playing the music, and I'm only the instrument. And I'm an instrument, and Richie is an instrument, for all of us, so that the music isn't coming from me, but through me, from everybody.

Argus: Could you say something about the Fort Hill Community.

Kwaskin: There's not much to say. I mean, there's a lot to say, but it's difficult to talk about it in a few words, I mean it's just a lot of groovy people.

Argus: Richie was saying before that everybody has to be able to do every job. I don't really understand why.

Kwaskin: It's like there's so many... We have to be strong, really strong. What he's trying to say is that we all have to learn to do a lot more, and most people that know how to do one thing have to teach what they know to other people, so that we're all musicians and we're all carpenters and we're all things and... whatever's needed, so that as a group we're just a stronger group, so that we can do anything together. It isn't one person doing this and one person doing that, it's we all do this and then we all do that. And so much more can get done, and it happens, you know, and, for instance, working together, all the men working together brings us closer together just by working together. That's how men can get together, it's one of the ways. It's a fantastic way. It's like the *Avatar*. We all somehow get together and create the *Avatar*. Now Eben's the artist, the painter, and the drawer. And nobody else is going to take that... you know, we're not all going to become artists, but we all are going to create the *Avatar* together, on one level or another. Everybody participates somehow.

Argus: So that the *Avatar* is now a monthly magazine, right?

Kwaskin: The *Avatar* is a magazine that will come out when the next issue is ready. And it may be a month, and it may be 3 months. It's impossible to say. It's like, we're not held to any time. I mean if we're into making a movie, and we don't feel like putting the *Avatar* out, we won't.

Argus: Yeah, I heard that Mel Lyman was making films now. Are any of them going to be shown, or anything?

Kwaskin: Not yet. Not for a while. It'll be a year, at least a year, before any of his films are ready for... like we're just building the movie sets and theaters now, and all that theater stuff... just beginning.

Argus: I was kind of wondering why, like no one in the Fort Hill Community has really long hair or beards. None of the people I've seen. Is that so you can do more things?

Kwaskin: No, it has nothing to do with that. It's just a matter of taste. I used to have fairly long hair, anyway. I don't know—just not into it anymore. It's got nothing to do with anything except taste, personal taste.

Argus: So that's why your music has changed, too, your tastes are changing?

Kwaskin: Oh, God, yeah, that's all it is. It's like, I'm changing, and as I change my music changes. I wish I was doing better. It's hard for me to answer your questions with this headache. I'm trying to be as straight-forward as possible, but it's difficult. Go ahead.

Argus: Yeah. It's weird for me to ask questions, cause I'm not used to this kind of thing.

Kwaskin: You're asking the right questions. I mean you ask questions because you want to know the answer. Most interviewers ask questions because they think those are the questions that they should ask. They have a set of pat questions that they ask. But you are asking questions because you want to know, and that's the only reason I can answer you.

Argus: Exactly how does Mel function as the leader of the group? Does he give directions or is he a guiding spirit or...

Kwaskin: He's an example, and he's a direction. He knows every single member of the community better than they know themselves.

Argus: You people are very interested in astrology. I've noticed that when you meet someone, the first thing you ask them is what's their sign.

Kwaskin: Depends on the person. A lot of times we do, but not always. I mean when I sit down at a truck stop in North Carolina, and I sit down next to a truck driver and I start having a conversation, I doubt if I'd ask him his sign.

[Enter Richie Guerin]

Argus: When you ask someone their sign, aren't you kind of prejudging what he's going to be like, and then your actions toward him would almost make him be that way?

Guerin: Depends. Like, you know, if a black cat comes up to me and he's alive and he's real, it don't matter, right? If a black cat comes up to you and he's a dummy, he's a nigger. If a white cat comes up to you and he's groovy and real, he's a person. Also if he's dumb, he's a nigger too. So, asking a sign, it's like a way of knowing. A way of understanding them a little more fully, so that you can... It's almost like not having to... it's being able to ask questions to them that you want to know something about them, you're able to give them the kind of question they can answer best. Does that make sense to you? It's like if you know astrology, and you can use it, then if you know somebody's sign, you can talk to them a lot easier. I mean it's a very analytical way of talking to somebody. You can build out of a certain place, in talking to a Virgo you got to build a foundation and then derive everything logically from that point, and it's a very sensible way of doing it. Some people do it by colors, some people do it by what they feel.

Kwaskin: The answer to your question is yes. [laughter and Guerin asks why]

Kwaskin: No he didn't.

Guerin: Yes he did.

Kwaskin: He said when you ask somebody their sign, don't you...

Guerin: Oh, put them in a category.

Kwaskin: Yeah, sort of, and also, by the way, talk to them, kind of make them be that way.

Guerin: Who doesn't?

Kwaskin: I mean, you know, you ask somebody their sign, and it gives you a little better understanding of who they are, that's all. Which is really what you're after.

Argus: The more things you find out about when he was born...

Guerin: If you do a chart, then you got him. It's really there. Depends on the cat who does the chart, and reads it, you see. If you've done a zillion charts, you've really got it very simple. You don't have to say much.

Argus: Do you ever do anything with the *I Ching*?

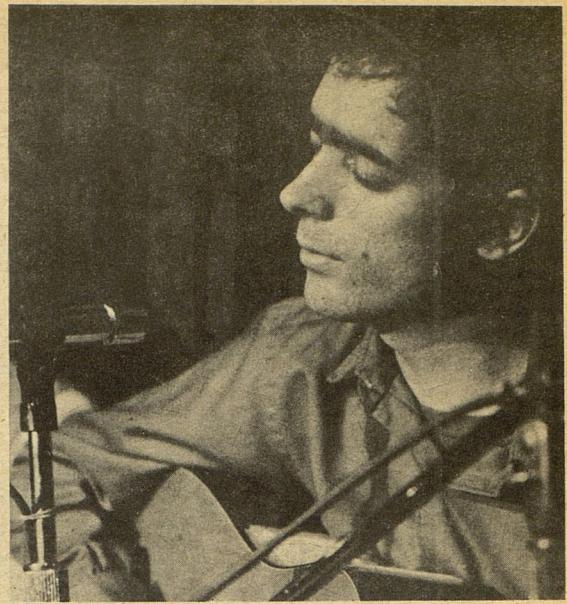
Kwaskin: All the time. I use it all the time, every day. Perseverance furthers. We use the *I Ching*, man, we trust in that thing right down the line. You know, like I threw my changes before I left on the plane, and if it said that it doesn't further to go anywhere, I would have stayed home, just without even thinking twice about it. It's fantastic. I threw just before I left, and it said gradual progress, so I went.

Argus: Do the *I Ching* and the astrology work right all together?

Guerin: Yes. If you throw the changes, you can see how it builds. Each trigram is in terms of an element, and that element is in terms of a judgement. And also in astrology, you've got elements, and characteristics, which also give you judgements.

Kwaskin: Every truth works with every other truth. Astrology, palm reading, numerology, the *I Ching*, psychology, science.

Guerin: LSD, booze. Put 'em all together. They're all



the same, just how you use them. Who you are, and how you use them. They're all truths, or they're all a lie depending on you.

Argus: You don't do much with drugs, do you?

Kwaskin: Do much what?

Argus: With drugs.

Kwaskin: I've already done that, a long time ago. Took them all, and dug it, and that was it. What do I need them for? Just to, like, dig where that was at, see what there was to see. I mean I'll try anything, but, you know, like I don't want to get stuck there. If you keep taking drugs all the time, or keep trying to stay there, on drugs, instead of getting there in real life. It's like not a very hip thing to do. Re却ers are like alcohol. Just like a stimulator, or whatever it is, I don't know. But to me that's not a drug, you know, that's not like a hippie drug.

Argus: Let's get back to the performance. You know, all that conversation with the audience.

Kwaskin: Oh, yeah.

Argus: Did you feel that you eventually got through?

Kwaskin: A little bit. Not to the degree that I deeply wanted. Just a little.

Argus: There's no real way of getting...

Guerin: Not right there. You've got to use everything you can. Everything.

Kwaskin: And it's different every single time.

Guerin: That's why *I Ching*'s are around.

Argus: So you would never do the same kind of program twice.

Kwaskin: I don't even remember what I did. It's like having a bag. What good is it? We do a lot of the songs over again, but we never do them the same. Half the time we don't play them in the same key, or play them the same way, or use the same positions on the guitar. Sometimes he sings it, sometimes I sing it... .

Guerin: Sometimes it's beautiful, sometimes it's awful. Kwaskin: Right. Same song can be both. One night it's beautiful, next night it's terrible. Sometimes we're together, sometimes we're completely separated, God sometimes we do it slow...

it's different every time. Sometimes we do a song fast.

Argus: Does your getting together depend on the audience, too?

Kwaskin: Partially. If there's great enough people then of course that'll be fine. But it's not all the audience. A lot of it is dependent on us, on our own demands that we make on each other, and on ourselves.

Guerin: If we can sit up there and be as real as we can be then we won't be separated.

Kwaskin: Like tonight I had a headache, you know? And try as I may, I couldn't get past it. Except occasionally, I got a little bit past it. Now, there's nobody to blame for that headache but me. It ain't like the headache that comes from someplace outside of me. So I created that separation. So I blame myself. But I don't get stuck there. That's what happened tonight, I ain't gonna sit and worry about it, I'll just try not to have that happen again, I know it, and I accept it. Got to go on from there. Life is too short.

Argus: I'm kind of interested in where Richie's music started. You know, like I know Jim started with ragtime.

Kwaskin: I didn't.

Argus: You didn't?

Kwaskin: Actually, I was singing ballads before I was singing ragtime, 'till I got into ragtime, went through it, and now I'm back to ballads again. Only then, when I sang them I was lousy. The reason I got into ragtime, because it was the only thing I could sing good. It was easy. It took me singing ragtime for 5 years before I finally really learned how to sing. Now I can go back to ballads, and now I can sing them.

Guerin: Is that what we sing, ballads?

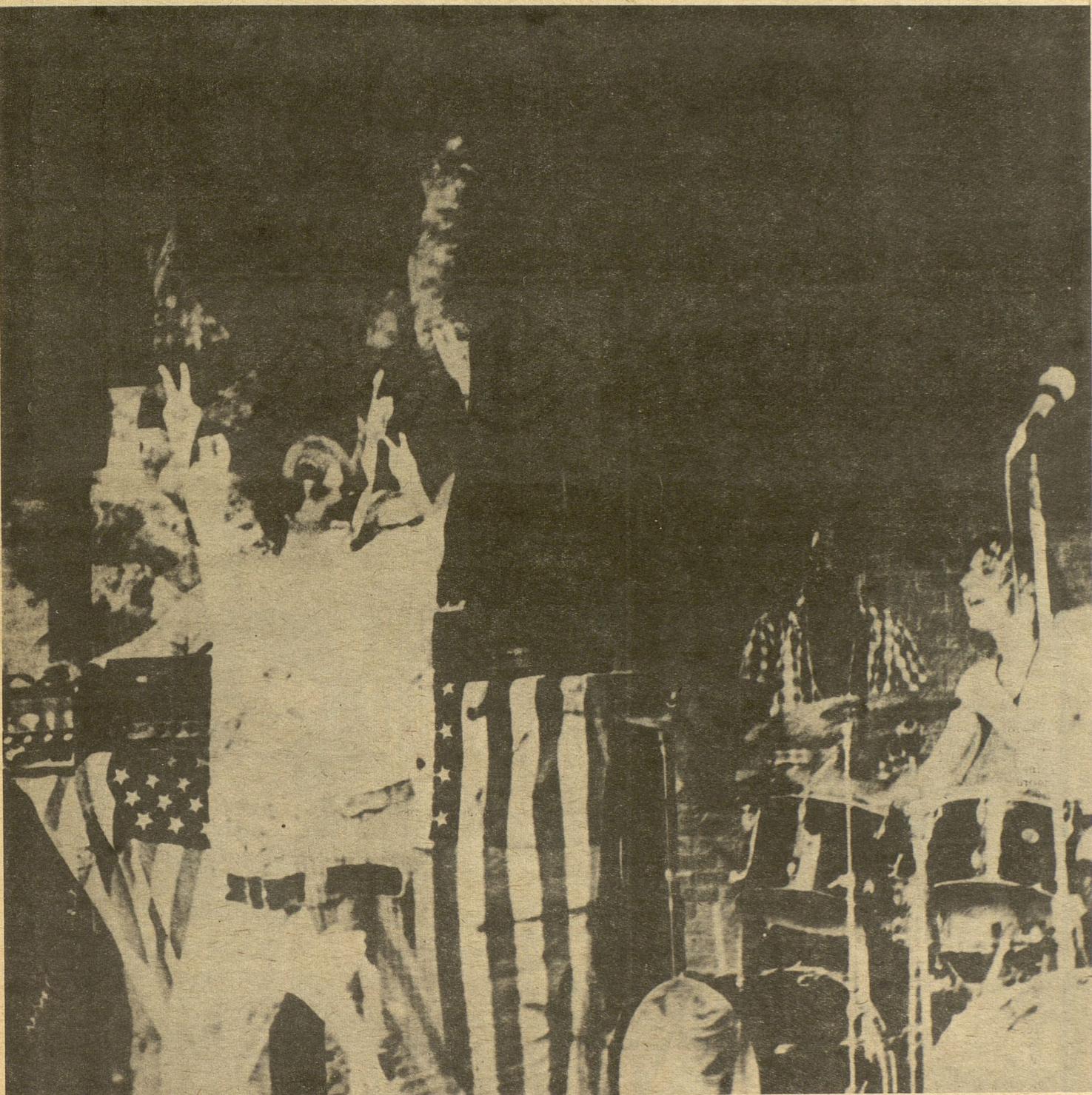
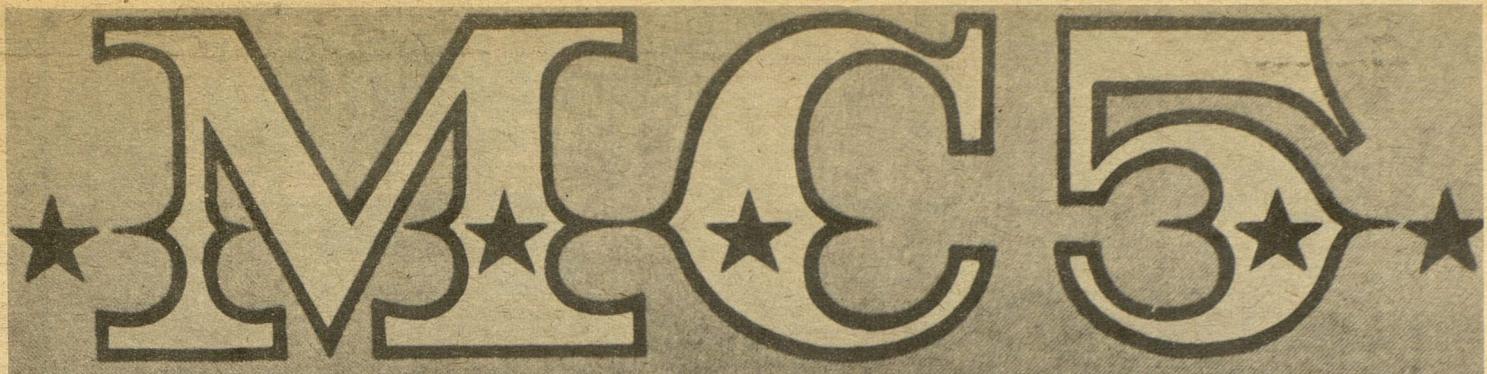
Kwaskin: Yeah, it's essentially what they are, most of them. Hank Williams' songs, Jimmie Rogers' songs, Sam Cooke and all that stuff—those are ballads. For lack of any other name. I sing a couple of ballads that are like a book, like a movie—the whole story, the whole thing. One is called the *Buffalo Skinners*.

Guerin: 1913 Massacre.

Kwaskin: And also *Mary and the Wild Moor*. But most of the, you're right. Most of them do leave lots of room, but a few of them...

Kwaskin: I think we've said about everything we're going to say. You've got a lot there.

Argus: OK. Thanks a lot.



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## RESISTOR

continued from page 5  
 What my lawyer and I will have to do is show that, in a sense, the trial only starts upon my admitting that I sent back "my" card and refused induction. Another thing I want to do is "humanize the court-room". Toward this end, I will not limit my arguments to those in my letter but describe particular events which I experienced and moved me closer to non-cooperation. I will also take an active part in the trial at certain points—like the summation—so that I can not only cut through certain legal formalities but aid in humanizing the court. Hopefully, the trial will sober some people who have been drugged by the Paris "truce" talks.

Though many of us in Resistance have listened to prison tapes, talked to guys who have been through prison, read articles about prison, and discussed among ourselves the fears we have, it is nearly impossible to resolve these fears "in the abstract". Though physical violence and homosexuality are extremely threatening aspects of prison life, I hope that given the nature of Federal minimum security prisons this part of the prison experience can be reduced to an occasional annoyance.

continued on page 19

## FLEAGLE

continued from page 8

The Panthers call their lawyer, Charles Garry, "our technician." Reies Tijerina, who leads the movement of chinacos in New Mexico, for the return of land stolen from their ancestors one hundred years ago, represented himself and not only won acquittal on a charge of kidnapping, but was able to popularize his cause.

Ron Riost, who has worked closely with the Movement in Detroit, made the point that the people recognize the problem of the legal system before the lawyers, and it is the role of lawyers to find what is useful for the people in the law. Although this may not seem like a particularly subtle point, it goes completely against the elitist teachings of the law schools that clients are idiots and the law is a mystery.

To fight the battle in the courts may seem like a losing battle from the start, and anyway can one be a radical lawyer? As one lawyer said, "Isn't it like talking about a radical cop?" But, most agreed that as long as clients aren't deluded into believing that the courts will solve problems and know that when the fight starts, due process goes out the window, the battle has value.

Legal Hassles? Write Fleagle, c/o Argus, 807 S. State, Ann Arbor 48104. All questions will be answered.

## Chicago #1

cont'd from page 4

Demonstrations in the law school where hearings were being held succeeded in getting the hearings put off a week, and got a few procedural changes.

The students in the sit-in refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the hearings, and 61 were suspended for not responding to the "summons". I have been in the building much of the time, along with other law students, helping handle legal problems. The University tried to circulate a rumor that it will get an injunction, in hopes of scaring students out. It wants desperately to avoid confrontation with Chicago cops, but quite a few kids will stay. So if the cops, sheriff's deputies, or federal marshals come, it will be with plenty of warning.

The University is waiting, hoping, things will fall apart without having to call in police. The long hours of mass meetings since the sit-in started have raised the level of political awareness among students. Political suppression and sex discrimination—male superiority—have become the main issues, and some very good position papers on these have been issued. Much of the focus has also centered around student power, and out of the meetings have come the four demands mentioned above. Further demands were voted down as bad tactics, so correlating principles with the demands were formulated.

The University at this printing has refused to talk to the students, due to a power struggle between conservative faculty members that officially run the school and the Administration. The Administration originally proposed to talk to the students, but said it would refuse to talk till the students left the Administration Building.

Students have been organizing a program for carrying the protest onto the whole campus, by going out on campus and having rallies, canvassing, and attending more moderate supporters meetings. On Feb. 5 they began liberation classes in unused rooms.

I don't know how long everything will hold together if

the Administration continues to do nothing—most people are still primarily concerned with Dixon's rehiring. There has been some Hyde Park liberal support but none from the black communities, though the Panthers and Blackstone Rangers have made visits. Some support has come from the University high school. But it's shaken up the campus—there's a lot of talk on how to reform departments and what has to be changed in the University structure. The women's liberation movement so far has sustained the greatest momentum, and is the only thing "new" in terms of demonstrations at other campuses prior to the Chicago sit-in.

And now the forces of reaction are looming off-campus. Last week reactionary Congressman Pucinsky called for a Congressional investigation of the events, and prosecutions by the Justice Department of students [for crossing state lines to riot]. Daley has been making nasty statements, but won't act on his own.

My impression is that the students are serious about holding out, but are undisciplined. The SDS leaders are good, but SDS is not in the majority—everything is very democratic so it can't control the thing. The movement seems slowly groping toward real and larger issues through a beautiful dialogue that's been happening, but there's still a lot of liberal bullshit. It's surreal—the doors are open, the press and University security guards are allowed on the first floor, there's been no going into Administration files, the switchboard and credit union employees are still allowed in—all of which results in a lot of liberal support but not much action.

## Nurse blues

continued from page five  
 counties besides Ann Arbor [i.e. Flint, Jackson, Dearborn and Oakland County]. The Nursing School says that students have to provide their own transportation for this semester, but individual instructors imply that one must have a car to expect a grade higher than a C in the course, [oh by the way that's worth 12 credit hrs.]. Most of the girls working in Ann Arbor had cars whereas girls in other areas had to buy cars just for this one semester. The obvious solution is a trade in areas to even things off [even though those who decided where students were to work knew who had cars a semester before], but being irrational and illogical the school refused these trades. Makes you wonder who has investments in G.M. doesn't it?

What I'm trying to say is that within a university that is supposedly progressive there is a segment which discourages intellect, creativity, and individuality. Those that are different are driven either out or crazy or both in some cases. These women feel they have the right and the knowledge to dictate others' lives and life-styles. No one has this right!

—Sue Barton  
 Registered Nurse

## JAZZ

BY  
 DOUG LATTA

Robin Kenyatta handles his saxophone like a baby or a puppy—sort of fools around with it, making sure he pulls the most out of each note. Sometimes the alto looks almost like a toy as Robin's lanky body does a little dance over it. He's got a relaxed kind of conception, but very together, straight-forward, and not afraid to play pretty. All in all, he's the most interesting new alto player to come along in several years.

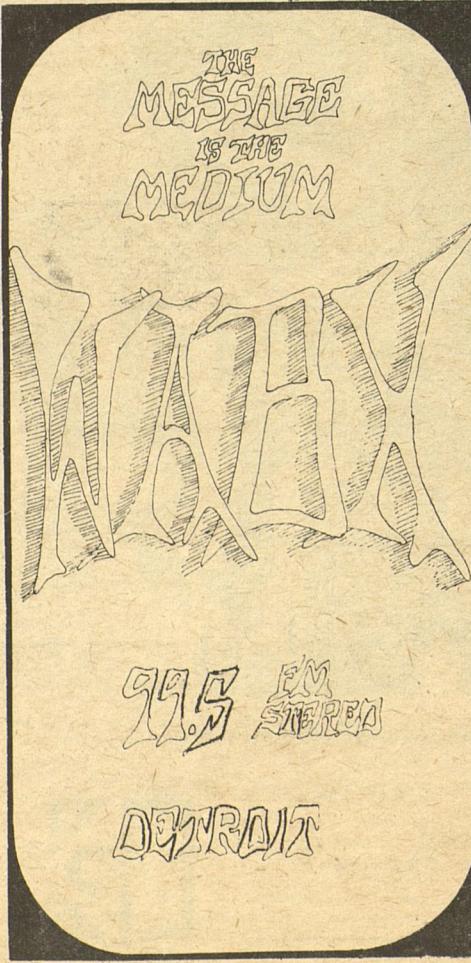
Kenyatta's concept at the Union Ballroom January 30 was a huge success. His group was comprised of Ali Mouzour, drums, Oliver Turner, bass, Mickey Tucker, piano, and Roy Ayers, vibes. Kenyatta far outshone the other people in his group, as far as I was concerned, but Ayers got the most applause for his fancy wrist work. The foremost thing on the group's mind was communication, and they got it. On the funkier tunes, the crowd was jumping—as much or more than at the Aretha Franklin concert. If just a few people had more guts, there would have been dancing, which would have been really beautiful. With the audience on their side, the group was able to play some free things during the second half of the concert without losing anybody. I think the quality of the music suffered because of the repetition they used to get people with them. But I'm not condemning them—they knew exactly what they were doing. Bobby Hutcherson at last year's Creative Arts Festival made better music to polite applause from a smallish audience. A friend of mine heard Andrew Hill here the year before that, described it as one of the most fantastic concerts he'd ever

attended... but a sizeable segment of the audience walked out after the first tune. So you have got to make that choice. But it wasn't any sort of condescending action with Robin. He told me afterwards that he far prefers playing live to recording.

He just places as great an emphasis on communication as on the inner self-knowledge that can be gained from music. But even though the concert was a beautiful thing in terms of human communication, and will probably help jazz, Robin is capable of making better music. The two tunes on which the group was really working at its highest potential were the two ballads, which were played with sensitivity, and— with taste [a quality which was lacking from some other parts of the concert]. In his best solo, on "Nairobi Hot Five", Robin wove beautiful and intricate spider webs of harmony and rhythm back and forth through the churning background. The tunes themselves, most or all of which were written by Kenyatta, held wondrous possibilities that the group did not always fulfill.

"Nairobi Hot Five" was especially beautiful, and urgent and powerful summons. To hear Robin playing at his best consistently, listen to his album [Vortex 2005] *Until*. I won't go into great detail about the record, since I don't much like the idea of being a jazz critic [if jazz musicians made even enough money to support themselves from their music, I probably wouldn't be writing this column]. I'll just say that it's a well-thought out and highly successful session containing two imaginatively conceived up-tempo numbers, one exquisitely played ballad, and one joyfully unrestrained but disciplined collective improvisation, on which he is joined by the sweetly sour trombonist Roswell Rudd. Everyone who went to Robin Kenyatta's concert and dug it and everybody did should really like his album. Buy it! If you don't, he might not have rent money next week.

CORRECTION: I am teaching a course on jazz for the Free School. In the handbill my phone number is listed incorrectly as 761-6883. My real no. is 761-6683.



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# RESISTOR

continued from page 18

Again, we will only be able to come to terms with these possibilities once we are placed in the concrete situation. What troubles me more than physical violence, is the potential isolation from

the events and struggles on the outside. This can easily lead to strong feelings of lethargy. Fr. Dan Berrigan, who has been sentenced for his part in pouring blood over draft files in Baltimore and napalm draft files in Cantonsville, Md., has written about his feelings of isolation and lethargy. It was not until he read "Soul on Ice" in prison that he felt involved again in the struggles outside the prison gates. In addition with having to cope with a feeling of "unconnectedness" from the movement, we will have to contend with the dreary routine of prison and the attendant experience of boredom. In having to contend with both the boredom and the isolation, it is not too

difficult to imagine how the prison experience can become a frustrating and bitter one. Most of us are hoping that letters, visits, and books form part of a "positive" basis for sustaining ourselves in prison. For myself, there are four other factors which will be important in keeping me intact. First, even given the truncated nature of life in the prison gates, there is some chance that a close community will evolve. Second, this community could become, as other communities have at times been on the outside, a basis for further organizing and political activities inside the prison. Third, finding sustenance and vitality in the reasons, beliefs, and actions which led to the prison sentence. This last point is connected with and grows out of the first three. Finally, the recognition that I will again in a few years be involved passionately in events on the outside will constantly be a reminder that, in fact, the prison term will end.

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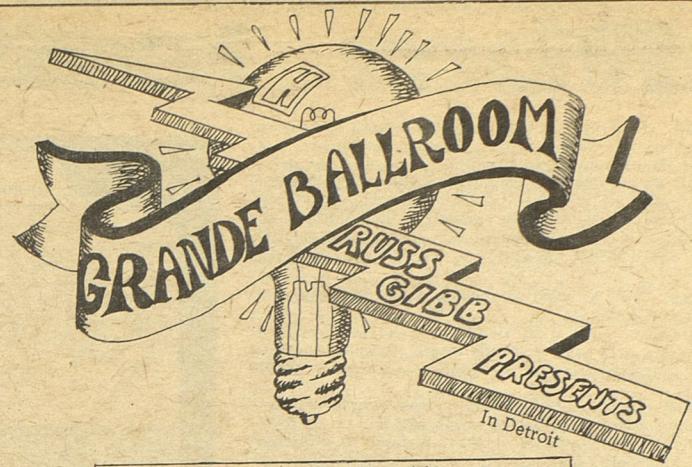
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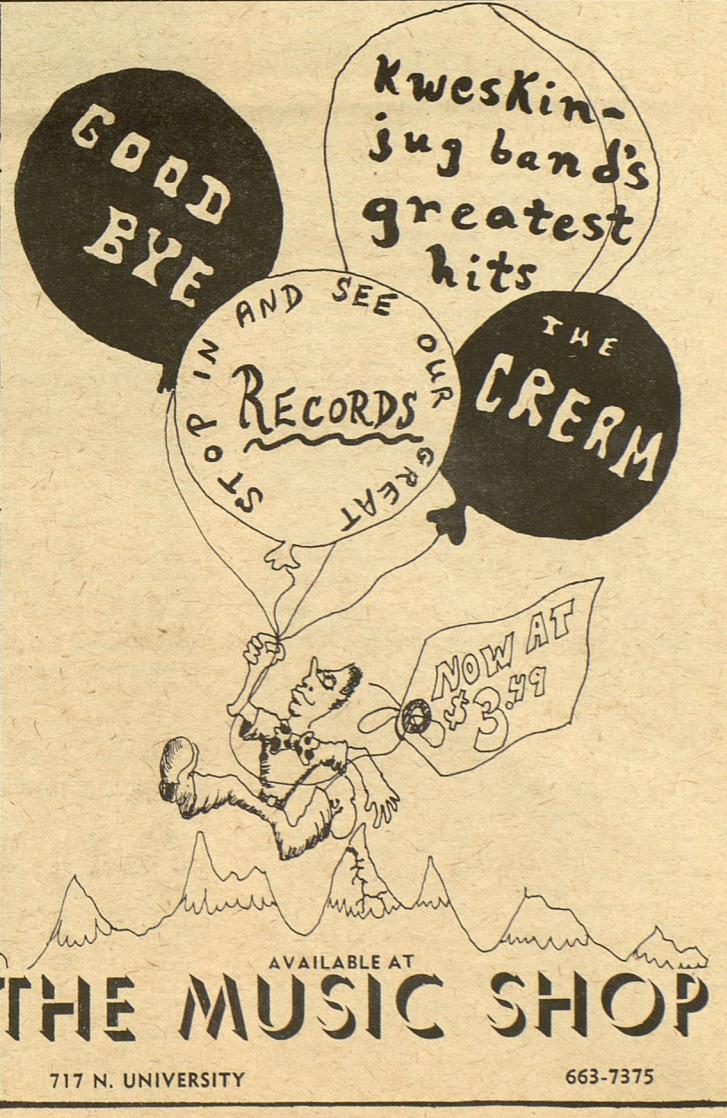
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# PL enters SDS:

[Note: Fred Gordon is the national internal education Secretary for Students for a Democratic Society, and John Pennington is the New England regional traveler. Both are members of the National Interim Committee, the policy-making body of SDS between national conventions, and are strongly opposed to the policies of the present NIC. The interview was conducted during the last SDS national convention in Ann Arbor over Christmas.

Argus: Tell us what happened at the NIC today in terms of the future.

Pennington: Well it's difficult to tell the significance of whatever comes out of a NIC meeting because the NIC isn't representative of all political tendencies inside SDS.

Argus: Well it certainly isn't representative of Progressive Labor. But having established that, in terms of just how this particular meeting is going to influence anything that's going to happen in the near future so far as SDS is concerned.

Gordon: Well it seems as if the people in the NIC and international office well at least two of the people who are national officers.

Argus: That's what Klonsky says.

Pennington: It's not of significance in the new organization. They're still considering making it very difficult for those tendencies to be expressed in the organization although that's not entirely true because I think they're going to have to back down on that. And it's clear to them at this point that a lot of people in the organization are against that, and they're going to force the law to come out and allow those views to come out in the open and get discussed, though I think they're very afraid of that. At a lot of the NIC meetings they have been making bold political and personal attacks.

Argus: You mean Klonsky and Bernadine Dohrn. Pennington: Klonsky and Dohrn and the NIC members look like they're going to try and maintain their positions, and their student-worker alliance was defeated.

Argus: Let's talk about the attacks somewhat, they threatened you what's going to happen? Do you want to talk about that?

Gordon: Later. What seems to be in store is that they will try to keep closer control of what gets printed. What my resolution at this national council meeting did was to charge Bernadine Dohrn and Klonsky and NIC of being suppressive of ideas they didn't like. Particularly student alliance, and it's very strong—that resolution failed by three or four votes. If the votes of the NIC members—who are the people accused—are discounted, then that resolution is really a vote of no confidence. That implies that the present national leadership does not very well represent the membership of the organization.

Pennington: It doesn't just imply that it's very clear that the majority of the chapters representation there believe that those people were suppressing ideas in the organization. They can't deny that, they can just say that the resolution passed.

Argus: Do you think that PL positions will emerge as the future direction of SDS?

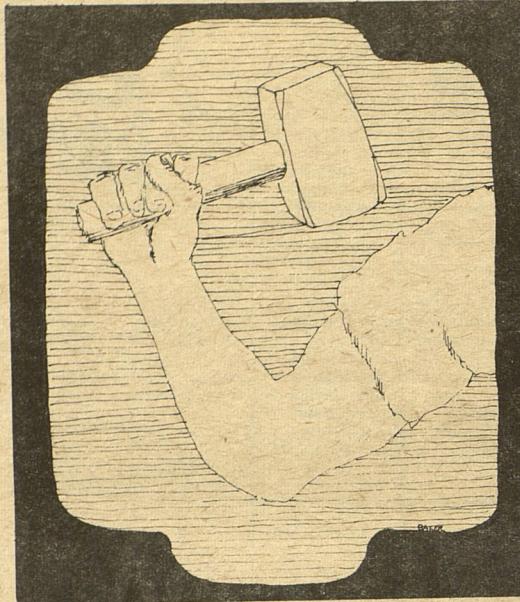
Pennington: I would think that was not necessarily clearly established at this NC.

Argus: Well in terms of support it got as opposed to the other convention.

Pennington: Right, what I was going to say was that at the last national council meeting held, the student labor action proposal was defeated 80 to 40. At this convention the S.F. State proposal about racism, which is essentially the same politics, was passed. In fact it was passed by a small vote. But if you take away NIC members and regional office holders then it's very clear the majority of chapter delegates again supported PL politics. Klonsky is trying to take away from it by saying that the reason they passed that was simply to fight racism—and there was a section on racism in Klonsky's proposal. I think the reason that proposal passed was because Klonsky was clear that his proposal was in direct contradiction to student-worker alliance politics, and he only brought that out later. He is very opportunist in that art time and time again.

Argus: About your personal politics, when you ran last June for office you were not a PL supporter. How did your polarization in this direction come about?

Gordon: Well, like a lot of other people, I was sort of irritated by Progressive Labor. They seemed to be constantly putting forth their politics, and to be everywhere at a convention. I didn't agree with those politics at the time. But I found that somewhat disturbing. But what offended me far far more was the way that they were treated, specifically at the East Lansing convention. I had a feeling that there was something very dishonest about national SDS and I got that feeling from number one, reading New Left Notes, and number two, going to national meetings. I got the of the major things that this "in" group did was to put a whole lot of pressure on people to suppress political debate. I got finally fed up with this and decided that something was wrong and that, objectively, the thing to do would be to run for office. What happened was I knew four people at the convention, one of them nominated me and the other seconded me and lo and behold I won. I didn't look forward to going to Chicago [SDS national headquarters] but I thought it would probably be a good thing politically to do. Looking back now it seems to me that one of the reasons why I was elected, despite the fact that virtually no one knew who I was, was a no vote against nat'l leadership, in other words a lot of people felt like I did, that nat'l leadership was really imposing views on the organization and that per-



haps, although I didn't have any defying politics at the time, perhaps I would be more honest and not be part of the clique. Afterwards, I sought to encourage debate in the organization—particularly a debate in which PL people could participate, and in planning for that debate, I ran into a stone wall. What was presented to me was that an argument which confirmed all of those vague feelings that I had. In fact, the nat'l leadership was politically dishonest, was quite clearly suppressing a lot of ideas—particularly the ideas of worker-student alliance politics. It was this suppression itself, which got me interested in reading through PL publications. I originally intended to write a critique of PL, since I thought that probably there was something wrong with them, so I read a lot of their stuff and found that a lot of it made a great deal of sense. The worker-student alliance is a necessary political direction for anyone who is generally concerned with revolution, and even if one is not concerned with revolution. Even if one is concerned with building a truly powerful movement to change the way things are in this country, then those politics are necessary. Because power is in the people, particularly in the working class, and one changes things not merely by appealing to liberal political leaders, playing them off against the bad guys, but the power is in the people. Because of my aversion to the present political leadership of the movement—even though I had some differences with PL—somewhat different emphasis—I found that a lot of the ideas they put forth, are very very powerful and very very correct.

Pennington: That raises an interesting point about what happened at the convention. In the conference itself, the leadership continually tries to pose things to the general membership in terms of either you be entirely with PL or you got to stick with us, 'cause they've made up their minds and we haven't. What that tries to do is say well sure, maybe you agree with worker-student alliance, but if you agree with that, PL is going to force you to agree with all its other positions, and I think that basically is anti-communism—what it's trying to say is here are these very dogmatic people—dogmatic simply because they've got their minds made up. It's pretty clear that nat'l leadership has its minds made up about a lot of things, and that's not the issue. The issue is whether or not people are putting forth good ideas—ideas that are going to help build the movement, and in my opinion the ideas of worker-student alliance has done this.

Argus: Which essentially has been adopted in the racism proposal at this convention.

Pennington: It covers specifically how to fight racism, it covers how to build other kinds of campaigns on campus, fights against rent control—the expansion, as well as fighting a lot of stuff on campus. And stuff like supporting strikes—it's interesting that nat'l leadership always tries to say that student-worker alliance makes students go out in a missionary fashion and support worker struggles and do nothing else, when in fact our plan says this is exactly what students shouldn't do. The major focus of a building a student union should be on campus—the key thing is that students should take a pro-working class position in all their fights because their fights are in the interest of working people as well as themselves. They continually try and distort that perspective...

Argus: That the ruling class be made to see and they be made to see how the ruling class is suppressing. How racism is used by the ruling class to keep the working class suppressed.

Pennington: Right. In fact racism is against the interest of white people as well as black people. Which is something we say which they continually cloud over.

Argus: Well, let's get into the work-in pamphlet, specifically.

Gordon: The work-in program was passed by national

council, and what it says is that students should go to work in shops for two purposes. The greatest value of the work-in was for the students themselves who are involved. Students have a lot of very bad misconceptions about the working class. A real bias which is not dissimilar to racism. That workers don't think... that they are fat and happy... that all kinds of things like that. So that students themselves should learn what the working class is like... that there is very real material oppression... and also that there is great potential for very militant political action. I think in the comments that they made in the work-in pamphlet a lot of the prejudices came out. One article in the work-in pamphlet is a description of a worker saying that he realized very well that his enemy was the ruling class in this country. One of the objections against the article was that workers don't think that way. In other words, no worker would ever realize that there is a ruling class. And that represents the way that a lot of people in the movement think—that only students are capable of an analysis, and that an analysis cannot arise out of day to day oppression. So what happened is that besides the fact that students themselves would learn about the American working class students would bring ideas from the student movement to the working class. Really talk about things and try to break down the division that the press tries to build up between militant elements of the student movement and the working class—that students are arrogant and they are out for themselves. So that people who work in shops talk to workers about Columbia, about racism, about the uprising in France, and also about the fact that it's the same people who are screwing them on the University campuses who are also screwing workers. The work-in itself was a great success, 350 people participated. It was probably the largest on-going project in SDS's history. The pamphlet was a group of essays gathered around the country which described the work the people did and how well people were able to put across ideas—their views of what the American working class was like, corrected by real experience... and sought a general evaluation. What generally happened was that of the people who went to work, some had more, some less commitment to worker-student alliance politics. Some people were just generally intellectually curious and thought they wanted to take a job, get into study groups, and to see what things were like. Generally speaking, the people who went into the working came out very strong. A lot stronger in their commitment to worker-student alliance politics. And the essays were also evaluated in positive ways, as the work-in itself was also evaluated. So that's what the pamphlet was. Those essays put together, and a relatively neutral introduction: what the work-in program was, describing it as it was passed, and an evaluation of its success, which in my view was pretty accurate. Do you want me to get into what happened in the printing?

Argus: Yes, that's just what I was going to bring up.

Gordon: Mike Klonsky was and has been very clear about his extreme dislike of worker-student alliance politics. He demanded that the pamphlet could not be printed in that form. There were other procedural demands that the pamphlet be sent around for criticism. What kind of introduction Mike Klonsky and Bernadine Dohrn and other people wanted seemed to me to be quite clear: what they said was that, number one, the working was a flop, and number two, they represented lousy politics. What they wanted, was some kind of introduction which pretty much debunked the content of the work-in pamphlet—an evaluative introduction which was negative, that would say the working itself was not the success that the overwhelming majority of people in it thought it was. So, the other two national officers of the NIC refused to print the pamphlet in that form. In other words, they demanded real changes which altered the political content of that.

Argus: Which Klonsky now denies.

Gordon: Yeah. He wrote an article in New Left Notes saying that the reason that the pamphlet wasn't printed was merely procedural—that is that the pamphlet should have been sent around for evaluation. In fact, the work-in pamphlet is probably the most discussed pamphlet that SDS ever put out. And most of the articles in it were discussed in working groups that met every week during the summer. So, to say that it is just a procedural thing is just not correct. In fact, the reason it was not printed was that it would demand that the political content of the articles be changed. I wrote an article in New Left Notes explaining that, in fact, political suppression had gone on not only in the work-in pamphlet, but also in censoring of several articles, Mike Klonsky refused to have my reply to his article printed in New Left Notes.

Argus: Now how can we procedurally do that? Don't you have just as much right to have something printed as does he or anyone else?

Gordon: Well, the point about that, is that on the work-in pamphlet itself, the NIC is a higher power than any single national officer. So it was the NIC that blocked that. In that case, the only thing to do is to bring the issue to a higher body, that is, to the national council meeting, which is what we did in Ann Arbor. Although they refused a very strong motion to censor the national leadership for political suppression by only 2 votes, they passed a resolution to print the work-in pamphlet. On the issue of New Left Notes, whether I as national officer, or even not as national officer, should be able to print stuff in New Left Notes, particularly stuff which is a reply to other articles, that issue will be

# Worker-Student move

brought to the NIC and their power. And knowing the political power of this NIC, I think that it probably will support Klonsky. In which case, the only thing to do then is make a charge of political suppression, which is an absolutely correct charge, and bring that to a NC meeting too. And in view of political suppression in the future, that the same procedure, burdensome as it is, will have to be gone through. Every time the N.O. tries this shit, they'll be digging their own grave.

Argus: OK. Well, I think perhaps now would be an appropriate time to bring up some of the other suppression that's gone on. John, do you want to say something specifically regarding NIC and suppressive tactics which they're trying to employ?

Pennington: Well, I wouldn't call these tactics suppression, I'd call them intimidation. And it's very clear that in line with suppressing articles in New Left Notes, suppressing that pamphlet, and generally trying to make it as difficult as possible for Fred to function as a national officer. They've used both threats and one particular instance of physical intimidation. I don't think it's important to document those, I think it's very important to say that that's just a fact. That's not a personal attack on Fred, it's a political attack on someone who happens to be a national officer, because of political views. And what that means, in fact, it's a political attack on anybody in the organization that agrees with those views, or that thinks it's good that there's a national officer with those views, even though he may not agree with them, and...

Argus: Well also just in terms of general principle, I mean, shit!

Pennington: Well, in terms of general principle, if there were a fascist in the national office, I'd think it would be right to intimidate him. However, in this particular case the politics Fred holds are vital to the organization. It's very clear that the organization doesn't feel that those politics are destructive, which wouldn't be the case with a fascist. And what they're trying to do is, in spite of the fact that the vast majority of chapter people at the conference supported Fred's resolution censuring them, it's clear that what they're trying to do is...

Argus: I want to make this clear—censuring them for not printing the work—in pamphlet, and for trying to go through the shit they tried with the work—in pamphlet?

Gordon: And for political suppression in general—that the majority of chapter people were convinced that political suppression had gone on.

Argus: Rightly so.

Gordon: Right.

Argus: Fred, do you want to say anything about that?

Gordon: Yeah, see, it's very hard to say what Klonsky and his bunch are going to do now. Very clearly, they are troubled, their politics no longer legitimately represent the majority of people in SDS. And that means that there should be more pressure on them to come around, at least with New Left Notes, and with literature production, that they would be forced, because of the pressure of national council meetings like this one, to print stuff that they don't like. At the same time, they seem determined still to put pressure on me in particular in terms of very direct threats...

Argus: Physical threats, and...

Gordon: Physical threats, hint that I should "play it cool". In fact, what they're saying is that I should not operate in a political way; that I, unlike them, do not have a right to put forth my politics.

Pennington: What that is, is just behind the scenes. What they're trying to do is say the organization may not agree, but behind the scenes we'll make it as difficult as possible for these views to be expressed, and for you to operate. What happened at this conference is that they tried to change their position to make it seem more like the position student-worker alliance has. I think in the future that what they'll do is continually try and make the differences less apparent, and then behind the scenes continue the intimidation, and then in public say, "Jeez, what's this guy so paranoid about?"

Argus: So what about the threats?

Pennington: The threats themselves were made in a closed session at the NIC. We had a little meeting downstairs.

Gordon: There was something else that was important...

Pennington: Oh yeah, about answering those threats. So this should be on tape.

Argus: Was it at the NIC meeting?

Pennington: There are two things that it's important to establish. One is that there was a general NIC meeting, then there was a closed session of NIC members only. At the other one there were a lot of chapter members present. In the closed session is when the threats were made because there they could more easily intimidate, because everybody in the closed session except for Fred strongly disagrees with Fred and they can charge that Fred is paranoid and a liar.

Gordon: The point about that is that if those threats continue, and if they're ever followed up on they won't go unanswered.

Argus: You ought to bring that up.

Gordon: I think that's all that has to be established. Pennington: I think that's an important point to press; that is that the attack which is made is a political attack and that political attack if they wish not to behave themselves will be answered in like manner.

Argus: In terms of the future national office which I guess won't be elected until June what have you noticed as a regional traveler and education secretary, what do you think will be the makeup of the next NIC? Are you optimistic?

Argus: What direction do you think Columbia is going in now?

Pennington: Well, people are going in different directions. There are a couple of very good projects, I understand, being carried on by people in the Columbia chapter. On the other hand, I understand that at the beginning of the year a lot of people organized demonstrations simply on the basis of getting in fights with the cops.

Argus: Rudd chiefly among those?

Pennington: Well, I don't think Rudd played that major role at the beginning of this year. The main point about that was that it didn't seem to build the chapter because they didn't have very much political discussion, they didn't reach out to other students, on the basis of politics that made sense to them. And in fact it did a lot of concrete harm to the relationship with the community, which began when they set up liberation classes last year. A very serious mistake, because the minute that happened the black community knew that they were essentially giving up, they weren't going to try and fight the administration. It was a very serious mistake.

Argus: Is there anything else you'd like to say?

Gordon: Yes. I'd like to just talk about the Klonsky proposal. One of the important things about this NC was that a lot of people began to see the difference between Klonsky's proposal and worker-student alliance politics. The difference between those is on a relatively high political level; that is, that a lot of people were hearing ideas about allying with the working class really for the first time; Klonsky's proposal spoke about that, really, not in a very clear way, not in a very good way. But a lot of people came very far in seeing the necessity for a kind of worker-student alliance. In that sense, the real value of the NC is not in what's passed or not passed, but in the discussion that goes on, and the discussion at this NC was the highest level of political discussion I've ever heard at a national meeting. What's wrong, I think, with Klonsky's proposal is that he talks about class consciousness of youth, and that means that youth has, as far as I can see, a single class consciousness. The class consciousness is defined in terms of the way that people are oppressed, and the implication is that college students are oppressed the same way as young working guys are oppressed. That seems to me that if class is going to be described according to the way that people are oppressed, that in fact, college students aren't oppressed in the same way that young working guys are oppressed. Young working guys are oppressed by all kinds of very real, material things. College students are also oppressed materially, but they're also far more than young working class people/people that don't go to college—oppressed intellectually and culturally by the university. That's not to say that there isn't a cultural oppression among the working class there certainly is, but that kind of cultural malaise and existential despair is far more characteristic of college students than it is of people who are up against the wall—who have material oppression. So that to say college students and young working guys are oppressed in the same way is simply not true. In fact, working class people are oppressed more. That's a very important point to make. On the other hand, it is true that both college students and working class young people have an interest in fighting against capitalism, that the basis for this social malaise among college students is capitalism, and that capitalism 1) is an exploitative system which sets up exploitative relationships between people and 2) that in terms of the intellectual content of the university, that intellectual content is in the service of capitalism and is thus totally screwed up. So the college students have an interest in fighting against capitalism, in that the discontent of people in college can only be ended by destroying capitalism, which is its source. Clearly, working class young people are oppressed in different ways. But that oppression has its source in capitalism, and that's the basis for worker-student alliance. Not to say that people are oppressed in real ways, obscures the fact that people in the working class are oppressed more, and in fact will have to take the lead in any revolutionary struggle. The point to be made is that both groups are oppressed, in different ways, not entirely but significantly different ways, and thus an alliance can be struck against capitalism. In that sense, in the sense that capitalism is oppressing both groups, working people and college students are of the same class—they are both oppressed by capitalism. But if class is described according to the way people are oppressed, then you can't talk about a single class of youth defined according to the way that they're oppressed, because in fact working people are oppressed more, in far more material ways than college students.



Carl Ogelsby

Pennington: I think it's pretty clear that people are going to run for national office with very different political points of view than those people who are in office now. That isn't to say that everyone in national office should agree with student-worker alliance politics because not everybody in the organization agrees with it. However, I hope that will be the case at some point, because I think those politics are vital to the organization. In terms of this coming national convention, I hope the officers are representative of various tendencies within the organization but mainly that all the officers are the kind of people that will be responsible to the general membership.

Argus: Instead of the present leadership like Dohrn. You hope for this but do you think in actuality this is going to happen?

Pennington: Yeah, I think that it's extremely likely. Gordon: The strength of these politics has been growing extremely fast. The number of delegates at this NC with those politics is double what it was at the last NC meeting in Boulder, Colorado.

Argus: If we could just go to that for a second. I've heard that stacking and other shit tried to be perpetrated. Do you want to talk about that?

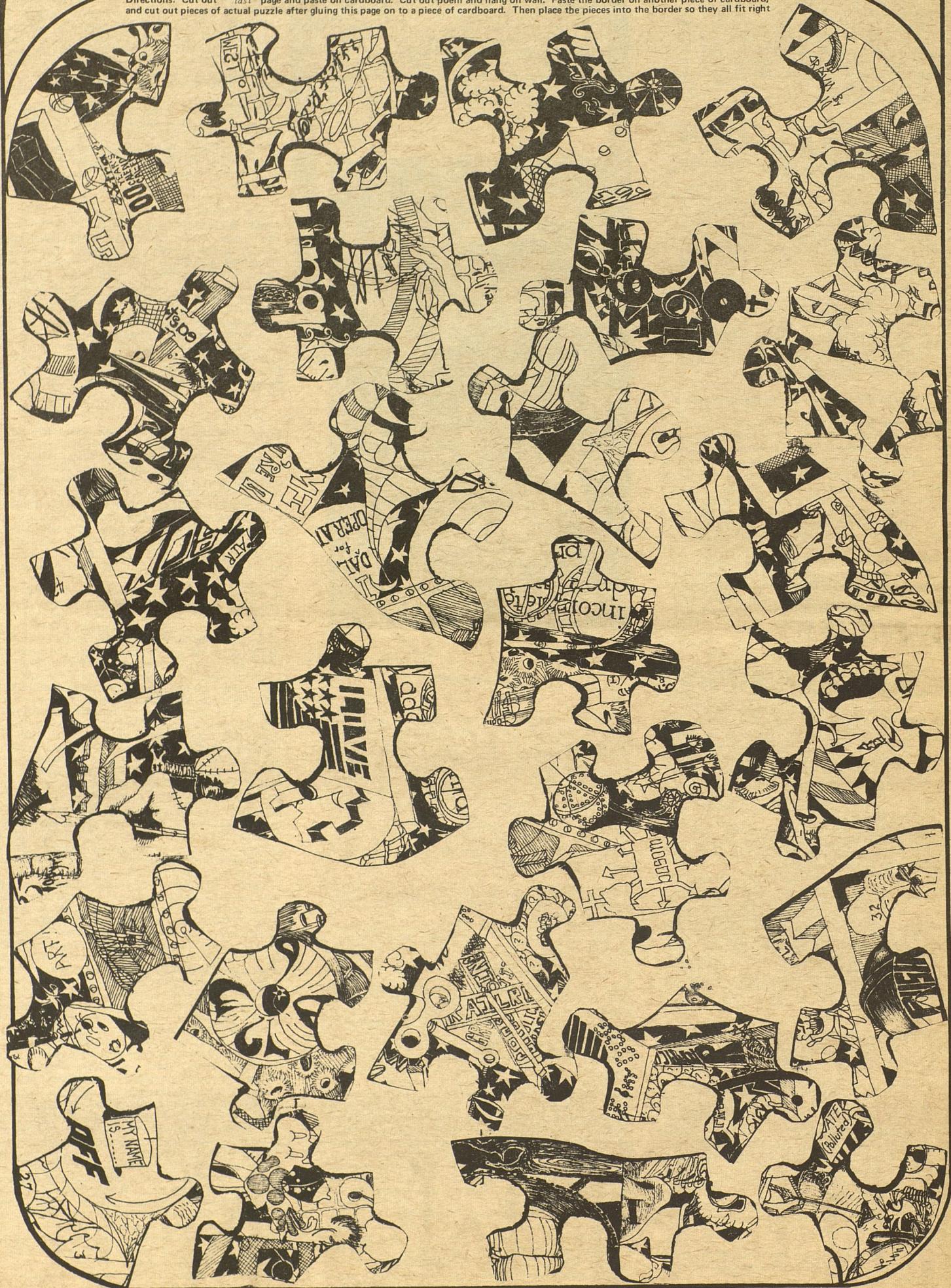
Pennington: Very briefly because I don't think it's a major point. It's clear that at Boulder there were 15-20 people that had delegate cards that shouldn't have had them. In terms of votes it's clear that the PL proposal would have lost anyway because the vote was 80 to 40. Mike Klonsky was heard to remark that "it was stupid for those people to vote because we didn't need them." However, it's impossible to prove exactly how those people got delegate cards. I don't think it's that important to go beyond that. What's interesting is that one of the things that has been continually raised throughout this convention is that San Francisco State doesn't prove the validity of worker-student alliance politics but it's been recognized very clearly that the people that have those politics are leading that fight on the basis of those politics.

Argus: There's an awful lot of organizing that's going to be done, soon too.

Pennington: Well, a lot of it's being begun already. A number of chapters have been working around PL politics; those politics have been discussed in a lot of other chapters; where, in fact, you could say in a particular chapter, say the Columbia chapter, the majority

# ELECTRIC KALEIDOSAWY PUZZLE

Directions: Cut out last page and paste on cardboard. Cut out poem and hang on wall. Paste the border on another piece of cardboard, and cut out pieces of actual puzzle after gluing this page on to a piece of cardboard. Then place the pieces into the border so they all fit right.



# CINEMA TWO

7 FEB 14-15  
**SEANCE ON A WET AFTERNOON**  
 KIM STANLEY, RICHARD ATTENBOROUGH  
 WRITTEN AND DIRECTED BY BRIAN FORBES (THE L-SHAPED ROOM)  
 "A THROAT DRYING THRILLER." -TIME

2 FEB 21-22  
**THE MAGNIFICENT 7**  
 YUL BRYNNER, STEVE MCQUEEN, JAMES COBURN  
 "EXCITING WESTERN" -WANDA

3 FEB 28-29  
**THE SERVANT**  
 DIRK BOGDARDE, SARAH MILES  
 WINNER OF 3 ACADEMY AWARDS  
 SCREENPLAY BY HAROLD PINTER

4 MAR 14-15  
**THE CHASE**  
 DIR. ARTHUR PENN (BONNIE AND CLYDE, MICKEY ONE)  
 MARLON BRANDO, JANE FONDA

5 MAR 21-22  
**PERSONA**  
 BY INGAR BERGMAN  
 BIBI ANDERSON, LIV ULLMANN  
 "HAUNTING, INTENSE, BEAUTIFUL - N.Y.TIMES"

6 MAR 28-29  
**MICKEY ONE**  
 DIR. ARTHUR PENN (BONNIE AND CLYDE, MICKEY ONE, THE CHASE)  
 WARREN BEATTY

7 APRIL 4-5  
**LOVES OF A BLONDE**  
 CZECHOSLOVAKIAN COMEDY  
 "IT'S FUNNY" -RETHA  
 "FOREIGN" WOMANS WEAR DAILY

8 APRIL 11-12  
**KING OF HEARTS**  
 ALAN BATES, GENEVIEVE BUWOLD  
 "WILDLY RAFFISH SLAPSTICK, AND SATIRE!" -N.Y.TIMES



COMING EVENTS

ART BY DALE BAKER

BE A FILM FREAK.

## AMERICAN TRILOGY

### I.

Caught between you child promise  
and full adult wisdom, she bogged down  
and wallowed in the mire of adolescent intolerance  
—America, mother of nations before her time  
Schizoid father guardian of mankind  
Spawning ground of

Allen Ginsberg  
Walt Whitman  
Richard Farina  
Kerouac  
Corso  
Dylan  
ee cummings  
Roi

William Buckley  
LBJ  
Dean Rusk  
Ayn Rand  
General Hershey  
Howard Hughes  
Ronald Reagan  
Richard Daley

Trapped in a contradiction of individual and national interest,  
Rocked by rhythm of unrest changes,  
Mad vision of a new horrific Inquisition  
Poetic murder  
Masterful crucifixion  
Rape of the Heartland  
By mad geniuses of Destruction.

Poisoned choked on her own fumes  
Blinded in the false day of obscene neon  
Fettered by past flypaper guilt  
—America, bastard child of revolution  
Cesspool mixing bowl of humanity  
Absolved and forgiven by priests of force,  
Home of the mad the free the brave  
Soldiers of another, interior war;  
The Michelangelos of the twentieth century,  
Drowned in their own blood—  
Blood of martyrs  
Blood of children  
Blood of poets.

America!  
Her gore red history slashed across time's pages  
Phobic destroyer of her saviors  
Lenny Bruce  
Huey  
X  
Judged by her interior colonies  
and found guilty  
Judged by her past and found wanting:  
America!  
Petulant infant, spawned in violence  
Disciple of Ares  
Weapon maker of Terra,  
sword to the throat of mankind;  
America!  
Unholy two-faced priest  
Upholder of aborted mutant justice  
The Beautiful  
Land where my fathers died;  
America the ironic  
America the insane  
America the deceitful  
the vengeful  
the hate-full;  
America!

II.  
Their eyes my God their eyes  
They stared  
Each one had eyes  
Each alone  
Each confused  
Each desperate  
haunted  
searching  
They plead their case  
Evidence of mental genocide;  
Confusion mirrors, those eyes.  
Living accusation of social hypocrisy.

America,  
What have you done to their eyes?  
Eyes of the blind  
Lost in their own hell  
Eyes of the damned  
Damning so coldly  
because they could have been saved.  
Eyes shadowed by the Bomb  
shackled  
fixed on the interminable one way street  
of false and hideous destiny  
Longing for the loophole.

You must make your own loophole  
Seek some other salvation  
Than hate  
M-16's  
Mace  
Napalm,  
Salvation from within  
Absolution in the fertile chasms of your brain,  
A poet's brain!  
Spontaneous  
Alive  
Bursting:  
Thirst after the elixir of self:  
between thyroid and kidneys.

I cry Apple dung!  
Grain house  
Elbow!  
I cry.

(Bring me whale dust  
I want polar bear heart  
seal tail  
wolf teeth  
An old Eskimo nectar for the eyes.)

Acid blankets throw off,  
Climb the walls dripping with the slime of centuries,  
Force coax open  
The old treasure doll house,  
Find the mirror  
See the blenders?  
Tear them off!  
Spit stamp them leave them to rot.

America—  
You can blind us no longer;  
Daylight is not forever eluded;  
Even now the lightening flashes in the sky,  
Ghost shadows die;  
Soon we shall see you  
Standing tall in your black grim robes  
Your sickle dripping the blood  
of martyrs and children.

III.  
You say love is not dead,  
America?  
You say truth is not dead?  
You say beauty  
peace  
justice  
kindness  
Are not all dead?  
America, I tell you they are dead  
for you.  
You have killed them.

They lie, corpses, about your cruel feet—  
Love, poisoned with false promises;  
Truth, betrayed in secret greed;  
Beauty, raped between her verdant sheets;  
Peace, tortured on the rack of national interest;  
Justice, mocked in the name of service;  
Kindness, crucified on the cross of success.  
Can you look me in the eye and plead  
not guilty,  
America?

Unspeakable murder has erased these friends  
from your heart,  
and how they live on  
only in the minds of we,  
the mad poets of a new world,  
who dare challenge your might  
in a contest of death  
to you  
or  
to us.

We dare not fail, America,  
So you must die  
at the hands of your own outcast offspring  
We, who loved you once;  
We, who watched you grow senile and intolerant;  
We, who will sing and dance  
when we have killed you.

For death deserves only death,  
And thus may a new child be born,  
(To shamefully acknowledge America—  
his mother—)  
To raise on the bones of the martyred and the saved  
A monument to the new resurrected life  
From the blood stained ashes of

America.

—Hill Grimmel

# REVEAL DIGITAL

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Ann Arbor Argus

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